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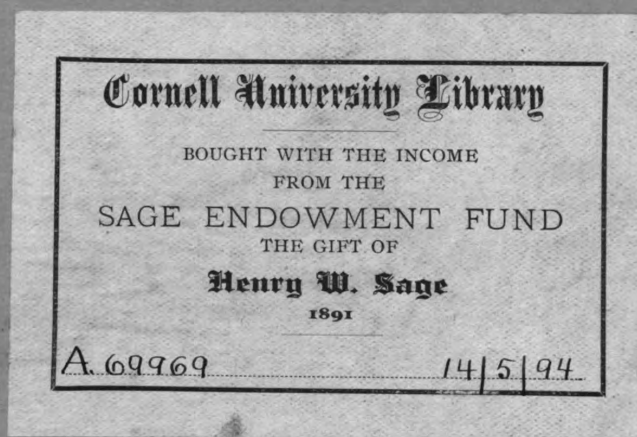
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THE
FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI
WITH
TRANSCRIPTIONS AND COMMENTARIES.
—
PART II.

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THE
FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI

WITH
TRANSCRIPTIONS, COMMENTARIES

AND
INDEX.

Part II.

BY
REV. JOHN P. MAHAFFY, D.D., F.T.C.D.

AUTOTYPES I. to XVIII.



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"CUNNINGHAM MEMOIRS."

No. IX.

ON THE FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI—II. BY REV. JOHN P. MAHAFFY, D.D.

(With Autotypes I. to XVIII.)

[Read JANUARY 11th, 1892.]

THERE are two moments in the deciphering of strange documents at which the explorer feels the high excitement of successful discovery, and on which he can look back with peculiar satisfaction. The first is when the general sense of a blurred and mutilated MS. suddenly flashes out upon him, as it were a guide-post to tell him the direction of his search, and an indication not only of what he ought to read, but of what he may supply, where the vestiges of the writing are faint, or where portions have been torn away. Without some index of this kind, deciphering must remain imperfect; for there are many faint traces of letters, by themselves illegible, which only attain their importance when the general sense has determined the character of the missing word. But if thus limited, both in sense and grammar, to some one of a very few forms, the remaining vestiges will at once show some of these to be impossible, and will generally agree with only one of the remaining solutions. Thus a word, by itself illegible, may be determined with certainty. But even after this advance has been made, there frequently remain isolated puzzles, which baffle the inquirer obstinately till a happy moment of inspiration, or the discussion of the problem with some kindred spirit, suddenly suggests

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the solution. This is the second moment of deep satisfaction, which indemnifies a scholar for long hours of apparently unsuccessful toil.

The great collection of Greek papyri recovered by Mr. Petrie—papyri much more ancient, and otherwise more valuable than any hitherto known (in that language)—afforded, and indeed still affords, an ample field for these intellectual delights. From the time that Mr. Sayce by his brilliant guesses determined the meaning of many of the fragments, and taught me the habit of deciphering, up to the present day, when my colleagues (especially Mr. Bury) often help me to overcome the remaining obstacles, the hope of solving further problems has been my task-master—my *εργοδωκτης*—to use the expressive term of the papyri.

The mention of these two friends suggests to me another attractive feature in this sort of discovery. It is our frequent experience that two minds working together in discussion over a difficulty attain the solution that their isolated efforts, even when added together, could not reach. The resultant is in this case far greater than the sum of the separate forces. Thus, if Mr. Sayce were resident in this country, the present volume, to which he has contributed so much, should have appeared under our joint names. For had we worked together, the assignment of results to each would have been impossible. From the premisses suggested by the one, the other draws his conclusion; from the corrections of the one, the other avoids error, so that the solution when it comes is essentially a joint solution.

The documents herewith published are intended to supplement and illustrate those that appeared in my former Memoir, and also to give to the world the remainder of the Greek texts recovered by Mr. Petrie from the coffins of Gurob. When I say the remainder, I would not be understood to imply that every extant scrap is here printed; on the contrary, there are hundreds of fragments, many containing a few disjointed words, a few items from the middle of an account, the last or the opening formula of a document, which still lie in my possession, till Mr. Petrie has determined their home. Were these all to be printed, as such fragments are in the new *Catalogue* of the British Museum (cf. *British Museum Papyri* (1893), pp. 56–8, 159–61, and elsewhere), we should require several volumes of the

present dimensions to contain them. My readers will, I hope, trust me that every reasonable effort has been made to bring together scattered portions of the same document, to print every connected text, and to publish everything which, however fragmentary, suggested any point of interest. While the present Memoir records many unexpected successes in this way, I fear that we have come almost to the limit of what is valuable in the collection. It is indeed possible, nay probable, that acute specialists, such as those of the British Museum, M. Revillout, or Professor Wilcken, if they waded through the mass of shreds and scraps, cleaned and separated from their envelope of clay by Mr. Petrie, Mr. Newberry, and by me, will still find correspondences which have escaped both me and Mr. Sayce—my early partner in this labour. But it may confidently be predicted that these future combinations will be few, and that the main results are now set before the world. The whole mass will, however, presently be put in some safe public place, where future inquirers can examine it, and nothing will gratify me more than to find this prophecy falsified.

A considerable number of the papyri in the present Memoir were first sorted, read, and ordered by Mr. Sayce independently, who then handed over to me the results of his labour. The greater part of his work he printed in *Hermathena*, No. xvii.; the rest he sent me in MS., and I have since repeatedly tested and verified his readings. The average result of my revision may be seen by comparing the texts in *Hermathena* with the corresponding versions in this Memoir. Though Mr. Sayce's work is stamped with that acuteness and brilliancy which he has displayed in so many fields, a longer and more patient study has enabled me to correct, supply, and complete many passages; I have united scattered parts of the same document, which he had deciphered separately; I have, moreover, added probably twice as many documents from the coffins which either Mr. Newberry or I took in pieces since Mr. Sayce's return to Egypt.

As regards the matter of the texts, I regret to say that with all diligence I have only been able to add some insignificant scraps to the classical literature so remarkable in the former Part. There are a few clauses of a narrative of the adventures of Heracles in Arcadia, known from Apollodoros (II. 7, § 3), which are chiefly valuable from the very archaic

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alphabet in which they are written. Of this alphabet I already have given specimens in the Table (col. 1) printed in Part I. The mutilated text is only of interest to palæographers. Then there are two blurred pieces of elegiac poetry, at one of which (XLIX. (1)) Mr. Bury and I, and then Professor Blass, have laboured most assiduously, but without satisfactory results. It may, however, suggest to some other scholar a restoration, and in any case will afford an ample field for conjecture. The second scrap (XLIX. (2)) is chiefly interesting for its form. Only the ends of one column and the openings of the next are preserved. But this is enough to show us that it was a collection or series of elegiac poems, each four lines in length, and each introduced by a heading, which seems to have opened with *εἰς*, and ended with the genitive case of a proper name. If this be the form of the heading, the names are not those of various poets, as I had at first suspected, but rather of the person who is the object of the epigrams—for such I suppose them to be. We have a collection of such poems by Callimachus, which do not adhere strictly to the four-line form, though it is the most common. But those on this papyrus are probably from an earlier hand, yet still surely a poet of the Hellenistic age. This curious glimpse at a new literary fact is marred by the jealous fate which has preserved only so much as makes our regrets counterbalance our satisfaction at the discovery.

The mass of documents, which may be called ephemeral, as opposed to classical—I mean writing intended for present use, and not for all time—is, on the other hand, so large and various, that any strict classification of it seems impossible. The readers of *Hermathena* will see what Mr. Sayce has done in that way; and I only regret that I have had no opportunity of attaining clearer views by fuller discussion with him on these points. There is, of course, a chronological order, which is obvious enough when the dates are affixed; but, on the one hand, many of our fragments have lost their dates, and, on the other, in letters of business, kindred subject-matter seems a more natural bond than the accident of synchronism. Were the dates widely sundered, the observance of their sequence would be imposed upon us, but with the exception of five isolated documents of Ptolemy Vth's day, recovered from at least two of the mummy cases,

now numbered XLVI., and a very few from the earlier years of Ptolemy II. (some of them printed in Part I.), the whole collection of business papers comes, roughly speaking, from the 26th year of the 2nd to the 22nd of the 3rd king, i.e. 260–224, B.C. The fragments of Plato and Euripides may be considerably older. The differences in hands so proximate are not steps in the history of writing, but mere accidental variations among individuals. Yet if they represent but a single chapter, and that the first after mere lapidary writing, in the History of Greek Palæography, that chapter is rendered by the present Memoir so complete, that we can find no parallel for it in all the centuries down to late mediæval days. Such a mass of ancient everyday writing, as opposed to the methodical copying of classical texts or State documents, is not elsewhere to be found save in the *Graffiti* of Pompeii, and these latter are far less numerous and less various.

We may say of the documents before us, that they present a long series of gradations, from the most stately capital to the most fugitive scrawl, fully equal to those of any similar random collection of writing *and print* from a waste-paper basket of our own day. The three specimens of that minute and careful writing out of published and saleable books, which corresponds to our printing, differ as widely from the ephemeral hands as do our printed page from our friends' epistles which come by the post. This broad and indisputable result of Mr. Petrie's discovery is well worth insisting upon, not only by reason of its importance to palæography, but because it proves clearly how long-established and widely spread was the practice of writing in Hellenistic lands at that date. Seeing that our oldest dated writings are perhaps the most cursive, I feel that not only Euripides, but even Æschylus, must have written down his plays with the same facility that Shakspeare did.

Returning to the test of subject-matter as a principle of arrangement, we can help out the difficulties arising from variety and vagueness by another ground of division. Many of the documents are addressed to public officers, whose names recur not only in the heading, but on the back of the papyrus. It seemed obvious to group together, as Mr. Sayce had done, the letters addressed to the same official.

Of these officials the most prominent, accidentally, in the collection is Kleon *the architect*.^{*} The proper equivalent for this title seems rather to be *Commissioner of Works*, for his official correspondence shows that he controlled not only public buildings, but quarries, bridges, and the making of canals. He appears even to have had the power of assessing taxes for these purposes. He must have had his office in Crocodilopolis; and the fact that several letters to him from divers people are in the same hand, shows that he kept official copies, whereas others, from their very incorrectness, betray the unpractised writing of the actual correspondents. As the workmen employed in the quarries were Egyptians, they probably had their complaints written for them by a Greek scribe, of low degree. The workmen, ranged under decurions, some of whom are named in (2), were evidently not slaves (who are mentioned separately), but rather free-men compelled to give a certain *corvée* of labour to the State. Their complaints of unfairness in the distribution of these burdens are not met with autocratic refusal, but with official delays, and redress is recommended by the local officers. One of these is called by the LXX name for *taskmaster* (εργοδιωκτης).

It appears from this group of letters that the Egyptians were only bound to give labour (of which the tale was checked by officers called the *εγμερηται* before the workmen could return home) whereas they were supplied with food, water, and tools by the State. Several of the complaints tell us that these supplies were retarded, or not punctually distributed, and so the works and the working-time of the operatives were unduly protracted.

By some accident a large consignment of these papers, separated and pressed by Mr. Newberry, were kept in London till September, 1892, when I first learned of their existence by having them brought to me at the Oriental Congress of that year. My former Memoir was already long printed, and even of the present one some sheets struck off, when I undertook the examination of this new treasure, the last to be hoped for from the cemetery of Gurob. It at once became plain that the Autotypes to this volume, limited as they must be in number, would

^{*} Almost all the papers of coffin A are from this correspondence. But many scraps were scattered through other cases.

gain immensely in value by withdrawing some of the specimens already selected, and stated to be autotyped in the early sheets (then already struck off), and by substituting better and more various examples. The correct list is given in front of the portfolio of autotypes. The reader will pardon the list of *errata* occasioned by this change of plan, which was adopted (at the sacrifice of consistency) for his benefit. It soon appeared that many of the fragments supplied gaps in those previously deciphered. It is a further discovery of interest that, of the three additional letters in the great hand autotyped in Part I. xxx. (1), two contain the name of the writer, Philonides, and one of them on the back Κλεωνι, proving that the writer was a son of Kleon, and probably elder brother of the Polykrates, whose equally fine hand stands out (xi. 1, Autotype) among the illegible scrawls of other writers. From the letters of the new consignment we learn many more details of the multifarious duties of the veteran Commissioner, whose duration of office we can now extend from the 27th to the 32nd year of the 2nd Ptolemy. I say veteran, because we have evidence from an affectionate letter of his son Philonides (xiii. 19) that he was old and anxious to be relieved; we have even the name of his assistant, Theodoros, and perhaps (xlii. (a)) his formal appointment to succeed Kleon. One document, written in a shaky hand, seems to be Kleon's own writing (xlii. (b)). The letters even point to a difference of character in the two young men, Philonides being more affectionate and concerned for his father, while Polykrates is intent upon his own affairs.

A higher title, but one less frequently represented in these documents, is that of Strategus, a military governor of the province.* The *Epistrategus*, or chief of this department at Alexandria, was one of the highest officers of State. Three local strategi at least are made known to us: Aphthonetos, Diophanes, and Aristomachos. The first was governor in the 6th year of the 3rd Ptolemy (241 B. C.). We cannot say how long his

* It has been shown by Lumbroso that the military signification of this title was probably gone, and that he was merely an official with civil duties. It appears, moreover, from the British Museum Papyri (cf. No. xlii., with all the petitions of the Twins for pensions, at the opening of the *Catalogue*) that while the *διοικητης* settled financial quarrels, the Strategus had the charge of criminal business.

office lasted. The most important of the papers bearing his name is one which was autotyped in Part I. of this Memoir (Autotype XXVI.). A large part of the remainder I since found, and fitted to the previously known part, so that we can now read a tolerably complete and very curious minute concerning the billeting of State officials in Crocodilopolis, and the use of the royal emblem to mark crown property throughout Egypt. With the aid of the Rosetta Inscription, which describes minutely the "armorial bearings" of a new king, and directs that they shall be set up on all the temples in Egypt, I have offered an interpretation of this curious document which will, I trust, find acceptance.

The date of the correspondence of Diophanes raises an interesting question. Year 25 is just within the possible limits of Ptolemy (III.) Euergetes' reign, for there is now evidence that he began his 26th year of sovereignty.* But the non-occurrence of any body of documents later than the wills of his 22nd year, and the general likeness to the papers of Kleon, make it practically certain that we are dealing with the reign of the 2nd Ptolemy, viz. 260 B.C. So early a date for fugitive everyday documents is startling enough; I trust further corroboration will be found from the occurrence (on the back of II. 2) of a double date in Macedonian and Egyptian months.† Here Apellæus 10 corresponds to Pharmouthi 16, which differs widely from the correspondences given in either the Canopus or the Rosetta Inscription. The reader will find these dates discussed in Part I. of this Memoir, pp. 68–9. If the variation between the Macedonian and Egyptian months were an undisturbedly progressive one, the law could easily be ascertained, but the intercalation of months and days, and the rectification of a defective calendar by cycles, at the end of which the months were forcibly accommodated to the seasons—these possibilities make the problem so complicated that it seems to me insoluble. Yet I trust that some scholar who is also an astronomer or scientific chronographer

* I infer this from documents quoted below, p. 37, which mention a tax of the year 26, followed by a tax of year 2. This points to the new king's first year as the remainder of Euergetes' year 26. For taxing purposes the accession need not be noticed.

† Leemans (Leyden Pap. i. p. 19) has collected the instances known up to the date of his publication (1843). (Cf. also the curious date discussed on xxiv., p. [71].)

may be tempted to examine its conditions. The single fragment (30) which mentions Aristomachus has no date.

Phaies, the royal steward (οικονομος), is another distinct personage, to whom the two letters x, (1) and (2), are addressed. They are in remarkably large and handsome, though not easy, writing, and as one of them is surely the autograph of his official, we may conclude that the other, the complaint of the goose-herds, if it be indeed in the same hand, is a copy made by him for Phaies' office. Very old Egyptian wall paintings show us that even the artificial fattening of geese was of immense antiquity. Diodorus tells us (I. 70) that the king's diet was restricted, as regards flesh, to veal and goose, a diet which would make even royalty intolerable to most of us. This document, as Mr. Sayce observes, first teaches us that it was carried on for the Royal Household by official people. But the epithet Royal (our Crown) appears in so many various relations of life, that we can see plainly how thoroughly Egypt was a monarchical bureaucracy. The king's name comes in everywhere; officials do the work.

The title οικονομος (Crown Steward) occurs several times, and always in connexion with one of the three μεριδες of the nome, for each of which we find a different steward named. He was apparently of lower rank than the διοικητης, who seems to have controlled the finances generally.* On the other hand, the γραμματευσ, called the Royal Secretary, seems to have been a great person, to judge from the indications we have of Asklepiades, who, according to Autotype XVI. (2) in the former Part, was in office in the 18th year of Ptolemy III.

In the papyri already known, the title επιστατης (of a temple) is frequent, and that of διοικητης rare,† but then the διοικητης hitherto known was a great officer in Alexandria, a Chancellor of the Exchequer. The title in these Petrie papers is apparently applied to a local (though the chief financial)

* I do not agree with the editor of the British Museum Papyri, who translates (p. 13) διοικητης, *governor* of Memphis, and says his relation to the στρατηγος is not clear. Of course the title αρχισωματοφυλαξ, there given to the διοικητης, is merely honorary. This criticism also applies to his note on p. 42 of that publication.

† The principal official concerned with the petitions of Ptolemy son of Glaucias, and the Twins at Memphis, was a υποδιοικητης.

officer, who probably reported to the central bureau. Another personage frequently mentioned in the following papers is the *επιμελητης*, whom Revillout considers a financial officer under the *διοικητης*.

Remarkable, too, is the absence of ceremonious titles in the present collection. There is not a single occurrence of the so-called friends, or cousins, or aide-de-camps of the king, as the Macedonian peers or high officials are frequently called in the Turin, London, and Paris Papyri. Is it that the habit of dispensing these titles had not yet come into fashion at so early a date, or was as yet restricted to the *grandees* of Alexandria? Surely the Strategus of so great a nome as the Arsinoite must have been a great person, and probably sent down from the capital; and yet, under the 7th and 8th Ptolemies, the chief financial officer of Memphis, who must have been as important as the Controller of Crocodilopolis,* is only a *υποδιοικητης*.

But the complete absence of these honorific titles in the Arsinoite Papyri of the third century, and their systematic occurrence in the Diospolite Papyri of the second—not a century apart—seem to me to point to something more than a gradual growth in officialdom. It is surely more important than the growth of Lord Mayors out of Mayors in our own day. May it not point to some considerable bureaucratic reform, forced upon the Crown by the intestine conflicts of the 4th and 5th reigns—conflicts expressly attested by both Polybius and the Rosetta inscription? The local officers may have been the main support of the crown in these troublous times, and may therefore have insisted upon equality in rank with the Alexandrian *grandees*, who had hitherto monopolised all the dignities, and had not weathered the storm of insurrection in the provinces. Hence under the 7th and 8th Ptolemies the local governors are all peers with Court titles, whereas under the 2nd and 3rd they had been mere ordinary officials. If this conjecture be verified, it points to a new fact in Ptolemaic history.

The over-frequent recurrence of the same names makes all inferences of identification unsafe without further details. Indeed, as far as

* Lumbroso has endeavoured to show (*Econ. pol. des Lagides*, p. 347) the hierarchy of office by the apparent promotion of the same official in succeeding years.

Egyptians were concerned, we now can produce evidence of an extraordinary kind to corroborate the statement that the Komarch's principal duty was to distinguish between homonymous people.* Nevertheless, this peculiarity seems to have been confined to districts; that is to say, the set of names constantly repeated in the Fayyûm were not those equally common in the territory of Diospolis (Thebes). Out of some forty names cited by Lumbroso from the Turin papyri, only five, I think, Horos, Petobastis, Petosiris, Arpaësis, and Psenchonsis, occur in the published part of the Petrie papyri.† Some of these latter names are of such curious form, that we cannot determine the nationality. What was Logbasis (ix. (2)) or Serambos (xviii. (2))? We are dealing with a population mixed beyond any other in the ancient world; for soldiers of fortune, collected from the four winds of heaven, were added to the older settlers, Jews, Greeks, Carians, Syrians, who had already made Egypt their home. The great list of contributions, which Mr. Sayce had mostly read in parts, but which I since brought together, and increased by new combinations, so that I have now placed its seventeen fragments in their due order—this list repeats the same names constantly, but I am not yet sure whether the individuals denoted are always the same, or how much they vary. It would seem odd if the same people, in the same village, made these repeated payments. But all this field of accounts is to me still obscure, and I can do no more than print the fragments in their order, and leave the interpretation to others. It is in this department that the remainder which I have not published may yield something. Of this remainder about nine-tenths are fragments of accounts, either lists of taxable persons, or stewards' bills; but a scrap from the middle of such a document is singularly barren to most students. The present large accretion of proper names ought to furnish Coptic scholars with the means of determining more accurately the principles of name-formations in Old Egyptian, as well as of their pronunciation.

The explanation of Egyptian coinage, of the relation of gold to silver, of silver to copper, is well known to be one of the greatest difficulty and com-

* We even know (Leemans, *op. cit.* p. 74, note on Pap. N. 2, 12 of Leiden) of two brothers in the same family called by the same name.

† *Econ. pol. des Lagides*, p. 76. An unpublished scrap exhibits other strange names,

[2*]

plexity. While A. Peyron set the latter relation at 1 : 60, Lumbroso, with all the arguments before him, thinks 1 : 120 nearer the mark. Revillout concurs with him, and so indeed did B. Peyron, but Revillout has brought demotic texts to bear on the question, and seems to me to have really established the relation of 1 : 120 when the coinage called *ισονομος* was struck. The ratio is expressed in his texts at $\frac{3}{8}$: 24. He believes that the older copper coin was not of the same value in the money market, and therefore a premium was demanded for exchanging it. This explains the well-known *οὐ ἀλλαγή* very well. But when he conjectured that the copper standard, with the same names as the silver, was a device of the late Ptolemies to evade financial difficulties by paying a small percentage of their debts, he has perhaps gone beyond the facts, for it appears from the present collection that copper currency was as old as the 2nd Ptolemy. A good many of the accounts among the Petrie Papyri must be in copper.

I have found only one fragment where the phrase *οὐ ἀλλαγή* is used, and one where *προς αλ.* appears to be used. But there is no document which seems to throw light upon the vexed question of the relation of silver to copper, and there is one (xxxix. (d)) where the use of both metals concurrently seems plainly indicated. The prices of articles of clothing mentioned in the will of Peisias the Lycian* are certainly in silver. The same variety of articles is, however, elsewhere estimated in copper, to judge from the large figures in the interesting complaint of the cobbler (p. [109]). There seems no doubt that as the habit existed of levying taxes partly in coin and partly in produce, so the habit of using two collateral and independent currencies, silver and copper, also prevailed; at least I cannot account for the facts in any other way.† We have large figures in copper paid for rent, &c. But nowhere is there a categorical statement of the value of the metals. On the other hand, we have receipts (pp. [72] sq.) for the diet of drivers and grooms, which would have given us a clue, had a single money equivalent been mentioned. But here the State seems

* Below p. 22. The long catalogue of payments in xxviii. is surely in copper.

† The great gifts of the 4th Ptolemy to the Rhodians after their great earthquake (Polybius, v. 88) contain large separate items in silver and in copper money. The significance of this statement may not hitherto have been understood.

to have paid altogether in kind—in wheat, wine, and oil, dispensed from stores gathered into the local granaries by the taxgatherers.

I turn now to the results attained by the great body of intelligent criticism which has been applied to the texts of Part I. of this Memoir. It need hardly be stated that in some cases where I had either failed to read words, in a few where I had read or divided wrongly, such acute critics as Professors Wilcken, Wyse, Blass, and others have been able to rectify my results.* Yet none of them will accuse me of any random guessing, for I have never set down a word which I did not clearly see, without noting my doubts, and where I could only read a *vox nihili*, I have simply set it down as an invitation to others to correct it. But here and there the want of comprehending the sense, which is the real key to all such doubtful enterprises, had made me blind, where a fresh mind at once grasped the truth.

Far more important are the problems of history and of literary criticism raised by the discovery. In the first place my suggestion, that the second Ptolemy had dispossessed the Egyptian farmers of the Fayyûm for the benefit of his veterans, has been questioned by Mr. Petrie, who thinks it more likely that the new settlement was upon land recovered from the great lake by a renewed draining operation, similar to that which had reclaimed the oasis in the days of the XIIth dynasty. When the country fell under careless or incompetent rulers the water-engineering was neglected, and so the lake encroached upon some portions of the oasis, while others were left unirrigated. This was sure to happen in the disastrous days of the decaying Persian occupation, and of the feverish hurry after Alexander's conquest. But if the 2nd Ptolemy, when settled on his prosperous and wealthy throne, sought means to provide for his veterans, whose wars were now over, we can imagine him taking up the old methods of his civilised predecessors, and regaining from the lake a large area suitable for his purpose. By this means land would be created, and a settlement obtained without the violence of dispossessing old inhabitants. Mr. Petrie

* The principal instances are printed in a page of *Corrigenda* sent out with the first Part, but since then Mr. Wyse has sent me more.

suggests that the documents reproduced in Autotypes XXII. and XXIII. of Part I., which are among the oldest of the collection, refer to the very process of marking out the new lots. Again, the produce of the lake in fish had been for generations the perquisite of the queen, and a very valuable property. If the queen Arsinoë II. willingly surrendered this part of her fortune, it was very natural that the new, or greatly enlarged, nome should be called after her the *Arsinoite nome*. A difficulty may thus have been obviated, and a very exacting body of household troops satisfied by the very liberal allowance of 100-acre farms. That these men stood upon a different footing from the other old soldiers quartered upon Egypt, may be inferred from their difference of title: neither *κληρουχος* nor *εκατονταρουρος* having yet been found in any other papyri, whereas the term *κατοικοι*, used by Polybius and in the Theban Papyri, does not occur here. An apparently distinct class, the *μισθοφοροι* (below p. [107]), occur in both. There is only one document (viii. 3, p. [21]) which still seems to me to point to two classes of settlers, the dispossessed and the new; but it is not precise enough as to the nationality of the dispossessed, and the cause of their removal, to make me maintain my view against Mr. Petrie's authority.

Passing from this historical speculation, I come to the critical problems raised by the classical texts, especially those of the *Phædo* and the *Iliad*; for the commentaries on the *Antiope* (now gathered with a text in the postscript to Nauck's *Fragmenta Tragg. Græc.*, and printed in his Index volume (ii)) have altered and corrected nothing save in this important point: it has been shown by R. Mekler (and Blass) that the right column of Frag. B fits immediately under the left extremity of C, and is, in fact, from the speech of Hermes. While this discovery establishes the order which I had suggested for the fragments, it unfortunately does not enable us to restore with any certainty the eleven lines at the foot of the column, of which we now have the openings and conclusions, as well as the general tenor. In solving the other problems of detail, nothing material has been added.*

* Except, perhaps, that F. Blass has made it certain that the second obscure word in C 51 is *εγλιπουσα*, so that either the first word of the line must be a fem. sing., or the scribe should have written *εγλιπονθ*. If there were a fem. substantive, *δενδρας*, meaning timber, it would solve the difficulty. He also pointed out to me a dot over the superfluous letters.

The Homeric fragment, miserably small as it is, has nevertheless excited great interest on account of its remarkable variations from all our received texts. For in this chance recovery of a passage of thirty-five lines from a copy of the 3rd century B.C., five lines were there, of which our texts know nothing whatever; two more begin with a quite different word. What is the meaning of this variation? Our first impression was that we had at last found a pre-Alexandrian text, that is to say, a text prior to the famous recensions of the great librarians of the Museum, and that therefore the amount of *editing* which they had performed had far exceeded our gravest suspicions. This theory, at first generally accepted, has been rendered very doubtful by the careful examination of A. Ludwich, of Königsberg (*Index Lect.* for 1892), whose unrivalled knowledge of texts and scholia makes his authority of great weight. He showed that the texts of the great critics never really displaced the vulgar and varying tradition of unauthorised copies, and that there were great liberties taken with the text as well after as before their labours. The scrap we have recovered is therefore, according to his view, rather an early and curious Vulgate, than any better or older representative of the early texts of Homer. His conclusions have since been modified by the acute criticism of E. Meyer (of Halle), who shows that while the import of variations had been under-estimated by Ludwich, the particular passage in question was just one of those in which sutures had been suspected, and that we cannot therefore infer similar departures from our known texts throughout the more signal portions of the poems. The articles of Menrad, Van Leeuwen, and others I need not here discuss. (Cf. *Mnemosyne*, vol. xx. 2, and *Sitzber.*, Munich Acad. 1891, pt. iv.).

Curiously similar has been the course of criticism upon the recovered columns of the *Phædo*. We had here, in a text at least 1150 years older than our famous Bodleianus, a certain number of variations indicating a difference of tradition. These variations were very far from being so serious as those in the *Iliad*; they amount chiefly to transpositions in the order of words; in two or three cases to an actual change of text. The great elegance of the writing showed that it was not that of an amateur, but of a professional scribe, compressing the whole text to the bounds of a

moderate papyrus roll. Here again, therefore, we seemed to have attained a text earlier than the editions of Alexandria. But the same difficulties have been started by H. Usener (Gött. Academy *Proceedings*, 1892) who argues that there were unauthorized copies of this popular philosopher at a very early period, that we have no reason from the actual variations discovered, to rate this papyrus-text so high as our *Bodleianus*, for it is quite possible the later text is derived from careful critical copies made by Atticus's slaves, or by Tyrannio, from the copy brought to Rome by Sulla with the actual library of Aristotle. Usener therefore holds the papyrus to be of no gain for our critical knowledge of the texts. I think similar conclusions were published previously in the *Classical Journal* by Prof. L. Campbell, but not supported by such elaborate arguments, or dressed out with so many seductive hypotheses. The other side—the higher value of our papyrus, which will henceforth be quoted as A(rsinoites), has been maintained by a great scholar and specialist, Theodor Gomperz, of Vienna, who has shown reasons for holding the papyrus-text to stand far nearer to the original of Plato, not only in time, which is undisputed, but in the quality of the readings.

This controversy will receive further fuel from an important addition in the present Memoir—a considerable and connected fragment of the *Laches* of Plato in a very different hand, on very different papyrus from the *Phædo*, but still undoubtedly of the same great age, and therefore of equal interest. The variations in this text from our *textus receptus* are indeed so unimportant that we may well congratulate ourselves on the close similarity of our printed texts to those read in Egypt 300 years before Christ. Still there are many variants, most of them in the direction of modern criticism, for they agree in some interesting cases with the suggestions of modern scholars to improve the *Bodleianus*; it will be interesting to note with what feelings this accession to our materials will be viewed by the eminent scholars engaged in the controversy. Well may their great names make us exclaim with Cicero: *Certamen honestum et disputatio splendida!*

There is already a strong opinion expressed against the *Laches* papyrus by Dr. O. Immisch, of Leipzig. (Cf. *Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift* for

Feb. 4, 1893.) But he was committed to that side by his fervent advocacy of Usener's arguments on the *Phædo*. His conclusions will therefore not command confidence till they are confirmed by impartial critics. Lest I should fall under the same imputation—the discoverer is but too likely to overrate the importance of his new treasure—I have purposely avoided entering upon the controversy, and have restricted myself to the deciphering and publishing as accurately as possible this new evidence concerning the preservation and purity of our Platonic text.

I come now to another document which stands quite alone in the whole collection, for while it is not a classical work, or a literary piece intended for publication, it nevertheless is no everyday piece of writing of mere local interest, but the fragments of a narrative from abroad by an actor in the greatest event which took place in the first century of Ptolemaic history. It is apparently the letter of a soldier engaged in the triumphant campaign of the 3rd Ptolemy against Syria—a campaign of which we have had hitherto but the scantiest knowledge. After repeated examination of the document, I can find no other interpretation which accounts for its tenor. It reveals to us how it happened that the 3rd Ptolemy's campaign to Asia was more a triumphal procession than a series of hard fought victories, how the party of the discarded Syrian queen and her sons was shut off in Asia Minor by the interposition of a powerful Egyptian fleet on the coast of Cilicia, and how accordingly the Egyptian party at Seleucia and Antioch were able to admit the Egyptian fleet and army to the strong fortress of Seleucia at the mouth of the Orontes, and then to Antioch.

If this interpretation of the document be correct, it can hardly be overestimated as giving a new light upon an important, but very obscure, passage in the history of the Ptolemies. Though the writer has an easy and flowing style—almost a literary style—he makes more mistakes than we find in the average documents of the period. The majority of these mistakes, however, is corrected in his own hand by erasure or by writing missing letters over their proper place.

This question of correctness leads me to comment upon the remarkable purity in language of the letters and other ephemeral documents in the

Petrie collection, as compared with the other collections of Ptolemaic papers hitherto known. Thus, for example, in the collections of the Louvre, and of the British Museum,* there is a series of letters or petitions very similar in character to those in the present Memoir. Most of them date from about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. (the reigns of Ptolemies VII. and VIII.), and are therefore about two generations of men later than the Gurob papers. They are written by people of equal importance, and addressed to officials, mostly at Thebes or Memphis, with honorific titles unknown to the Fayyûm people. Yet a glance at the two collections will show any Greek scholar, in these latter, scores of mistakes both of orthography and grammar, while in the Gurob papers there are many quite faultless, or where mistakes do occur, faulty merely from negligence.† Taking as our standard, not the finished style of the great masters, but the average speaking and writing of the best epoch, so far as we know it, we may assert that the Society of the Fayyûm, under the 2nd and 3rd Ptolemies, though mixed in blood with many barbaric elements, spoke and wrote good classical Greek. Either therefore we must postulate very peculiar conditions—such as good education, or a higher class of settlers—in this province, or we

* Published in vol. xviii. of the *Notices et Extraits* of the MSS., by Brunet de Presle, and by the Museum authorities in their splendid *Catalogue*, 1893.

† It is nevertheless true that the Louvre collection offers many valuable comparisons, both as regards the subjects treated, and the words used, with the present collection. Unfortunately Letronne, who transcribed the former, did not live to give us a commentary, and Brunet de Presle, who edited the *Notices et Extraits*, gives us hardly a word on the many difficulties with which the texts teem. The rare words, which occur in the Louvre papers, should have been made the subject of special inquiry between 1858 (the date of publication) and the present time. The same kind of complaint may be urged against the new volume issued by the British Museum. Even though B. Peyron had published a full commentary on many of the London Papyri in 1841, to which the editors make ample reference, there remain scores of difficulties which they should have at least attacked, and given us the results of their researches, even where safe conclusions had not been attained. Hitherto only two men have given us any systematic help—first, Gia. Lumbroso, in his admirable pioneering essays collected under the title *Economie politique sous les Lagides* (Turin, 1870); secondly, E. Revillout, in his *Revue égyptologique*, vols. I. to VI., has added greatly to our understanding of these fragments. It is earnestly to be hoped that whenever Professor Wilcken brings out his *Corpus* of papyri from all the collections, he will not merely give us partial transcriptions, however valuable they are from his hand, but also elucidations such as perhaps he alone can supply.

stand in presence of a peculiarly rapid debasement of language, which seemed quite natural, in a society formed of Macedonians and soldiers of fortune, but is not easily accounted for when we find that in one province, at least, the heterogeneous elements had coalesced into a settled society, using Greek as their common language with fluency and correctness. It is true that there are many words to be found in the present volume not occurring in classical Greek Literature, so far as we possess it; but who will venture to assert that the use of Greek at any period was confined to the vocabulary of the small extant fraction of the literature of the Attic age? Many of the words new, or almost new, to us, are found in glosses of grammarians, or in the vocabulary of Hesychius. We thus obtain a guarantee, such as we never had before, that this learned man set down his strange words not at random, or owing to clerical errors which he found, but that he used sources derived from the spoken language, which preserved many words lost in the literary dialects.

But let us revert to the question just raised: is it possible that there were circumstances peculiar to the Arsinoite colony which ensured and protected the use of correct Greek? Can we find any evidence which points to such circumstances? I think we can. In the wills published in the first part of this Memoir, and in other small fragments of such wills which evidently belong to the same collection, but which did not seem to me worth printing, we find that the testator makes his wife the sole or principal legatee. In a couple of cases where the name of the woman is preserved, we find, not only that she is a Greek, but that she comes from the same home as her husband. Peisias, the Lycian (Part I., XII.), is married to Axiothea the Lycian (according to the completed text, which is given below). From the same sheet and in the same writing I find (below, p. 23) a Cyrenean married to a Cyrenean. These can hardly have been isolated cases. For we cannot believe that, if the settlers in the Fayyûm had married indigenous women, the Crown would have permitted those who had no children to bequeath their property to Egyptians, through whom it would surely have returned, or passed (for some of the land was newly reclaimed) into native hands. Such a policy would have been contrary to all we know of Ptolemaic practice. The policy of the

[3*]

2nd Ptolemy in particular was, though peacefully, strongly anti-Egyptian. He desired, above all things, to Hellenize the country. Our scanty authorities for this period, however, leave us so completely in the dark concerning the settlement of the Arsinoite nome, that we must help ourselves by hypotheses. Taking into account, therefore, the character of the wills, the large size of many of the farms (100 acres), the apparently peculiar title of *cleruch*, for which the analogous term elsewhere is only *κατοικος*; and the fact that the names of the wives known to us are Greek, and that they come from the same country as their husbands, I propose it as probable, that a special title, special privileges, and special protection (viz. the Crown acting as executor) were offered to such veterans as would bring a wife from a Hellenic home, and settle in the rich newly-recovered lands, so as to secure a growing Hellenic population in Egypt. Of course Macedonians are to be included in this category, which signifies not strictly race, but common language and sympathies. Even so I prefer the term Hellenic here to Hellenistic, which embraces barbaric origin, and which might have included a large section of the Egyptians.

I need not insist upon the importance of these Hellenic mothers in preserving the purity of the language among their children. As Cicero notes that, in his day, ladies spoke the purest and most conservative Latin, so the young women fetched from Cos or Rhodes, not to say from Athens or Corinth, would speak far better Greek than their husbands, who had spent years abroad in campaigns among non-Hellenic people. Such a cause would therefore adequately account for the purity of the Greek used in the Fayyûm a generation or two later. So far as I know the London, Paris, and Leyden Papyri, the nome of peri-Thebes, and its *κατοικοι*, were not settled in the same way. We can see from the petitions of Ptolemy, son of Glaucias, and of the twin sisters, Thaues and Taous, whose case he espouses (cf. *Brit. Mus. Papyri*, pp. 7 *sqq.*), that Macedonians, Greeks, and Egyptians frequently there intermarried, and consequently the native element was rapidly regaining the upper hand.* Whether the absence of honorific titles among the Arsinoite officials is connected

* Thus in *B. M. Pap.* XLIV., Ptolemy complains that he is ill-treated by Egyptians because he is a Greek. In the Petrie Papyri Egyptians complain of ill-treatment from Greeks.

with these circumstances, I cannot tell, yet it seems to me probable. The best preserved of the wills (xix.) is unfortunately not such as to give us any light concerning the rights of cleruchs, for the testator, who leaves all he has to a Thracian woman, apparently not his wife, was no landholder, but a *παρεπιδημος*, or temporary sojourner.

The whole of the foregoing argument is, however, a hypothesis which we cannot accept finally till we find an express case of the *κληρος* or land lot bequeathed to the wife. Now the mention of these lots is so markedly absent from the wills—I have only found one doubtful case, I., xviii. *a*—that there *may* have been some fixed law of entail, taking this royal grant from the power of the testator, and giving it to the next male heir. I think this highly improbable, seeing that an ordinary formula in these landholders' wills is: "I leave all that I possess to my wife (or daughter) and nothing to nobody else." Had the land-lot been really excepted from the testamentary power of the settler, some qualification of "all that I possess" must have been usual, for even among a man's movable goods, the "plant" of the farm so evidently belonged to it, that to leave it to his wife, while the land went to another owner, would hardly be the act of a sensible man.

Meanwhile the most interesting of the wills (I. xii.) has received new light from the recovery of the narrow strip missing on its left side. Some time ago, Mr. Wm. Wyse, in a letter full of good suggestions, pointed out to me that in the document, as it then lay before him, Axiothea should be the wife, and that the verb *προσεννηγται* should more naturally be used in the middle voice.* He also proposed to read for *λυκιδι* (so first read by Mr. Sayce) *λυκιαι*, though he could not sustain that reading from the auto-type. The subsequent discovery of the missing piece has established all his conjectures, and given one more proof of his great acuteness. As I have reprinted the only other text (I. xxvi.) which has been explained by a large new addition in the present Memoir (p. [28]), so I shall here give the enlarged, and consequently amended, text of the will of Peisias, which I had already noted in the *Athenæum* of 15th February last, but unfortunately without then stating Mr. Wyse's merits in anticipating the truth. It was only in these two cases, and in the addition of some scraps to the

* I have since found (*Rev. égyptol.* i., 109) the exact parallel: *διομολογείται εχειν παρ αυτης ην προσεννηεκτο φερην.*

documents on I. xxvii., that further researches, and the additional papyri since sent to me, have enabled me to modify and improve to any considerable extent the texts printed and autotyped in the first part of this work. In this will of Peisias, we have apparently the top of the column, but not the commencement of the document, which must have occupied several lines at the bottom of the previous column.

WILL OF PEISIAS THE LYCIAN (cf. Part I., xii.)

νοων και] φρονων Πεισίας Λυκίος των λ ? . . . σιτ* ?[
]των εν τωι αρσινιοιτη καταμεμετρη-
 μενων κληρων ? ως L]ν μυλλος μεσος μεγεθει μακροπρο-
 σωπος ουλη υπ]ο γεν[υ]ν ειη μεμ μοι υγιανοντα αυτον
 τα εμ αυτου διοικε]ιν εαν [δε?] τι ανθρωπινον πασχω καταλειπω 5
 τα υπαρχοντα] μοι τα [εν Α]λεξανδρειαι Πισικρατει τωι υιωι
]σ . . ιεν . . |ε συν[οικι ?]αν και τα υπαρχοντα μοι εκει
 σκευη παντα και παι[δας] Διονυσον και Ευτυχον Συρους
 και παιδισκην Αβισιλαν και ταυτης θυγατερα Ειρηνην
 Συρας ? Αξιοθαι| δε Ιππ[ιου] Λυκιαι τηι εμ αυτου γυναικι 10
 π[α]ιδισκην Δ[.]σ| . ην Συρ[αν .]ιβυσειον και την οικιαν την υπαρ-
 χουσαν μοι]εν κω]μη Βουβαστωι του Αρσινιοιτου την δε
 λοι[πην κατασ]κευην την εν Βουβαστωι κοινη Πισικρατει
 και Αξ]ιοθαι οσα| δε Αξιοθα προσενηνεγται εμ φερνη και
 περιε[στι]νεχειν| αυτην κ[α]ι μη μετειναι Πισικρατει οσα 15
 δ αν μη περιηι η|τετριμμενα ηι αποδοτω Πισικρατης Αξιο-
 θαι τιμας τας υ|πογεγραμμενας οσωι αν ελασσον ευρισκωσιν
 χιτωνος ερεου γυναικειου και θεριστρου |σ χιτωνος ανδρειου
 |ιβ εσρις ? του τρι |ακρου |ι χ[ιτωνος]ου |ι= ζωνη[ς
 ανδρειας |α θεριστρου καινου |λβ απλοιδιου |η ενσο . . . 20
 προς |ιβ φιαλης χαλκης |δ ψυκτηρος χαλκου |σ
 σινδωνων β|λ ?υποδη[μ]ατ[ων γ]υναικ[ειων]διας ?
 |α μαχαιρας και .| . αιδισου ? |λ ερ[ων] μαλακω[ν]κρ[
 περιδεξιου |η |νωιδια |β[] . . . ου . . . ου |κ αρι . ν

The rest is lost.

I am happy to add that the date of this peculiar hand, and of this interesting text, has also since been determined by the discovery of another fragment so exactly similar in characteristics that it must be from an adjoining column of the same sheet and by the same scribe. Nor is there any other hand in the collection very like it. The new fragment runs thus :—

βασιλευντος πτολεμαιου του π]τολεμαιου και αρσινωης
 θεων αδελφων Λι εφ ιερεως]απολλωνιδου του μοσχωνος αλε[ξαν
 δρου και θεων αδελ]φων και θεων ευεργετων κανηφορου
 αρσινωης φιλαδελφου μενε]κρατεια[ς της] φιλαμμονος[
 κροκοδι]λων πολει του αρσινουτου
 ταδε διεθετο ν]ων και φρονων Φιλων Ηρακλειδου Κυ
 ρηναιος ω]ς Λμε μελιχρους μεσος μεγεθει
 ου]λην εχων μετωπω υπερ οφρυν
 ειη μεμ μοι]υγιαινοντα αυτον τα εμαντου διοι
 καταλειπω
 κειν εαν δε τι ανθ]ρωπινον παθω τα υπαρχοντα εμοι παντα
 τηι εμαντου γ]υναικι Ειρηνηι Ασκληπιαδου Κυρηναιαι
 και τηι εμαντο]υ θυγατρι Δημωι τηι εξ Ειρηνης και τα
 υπαρχοντα σωμ]ατα θηλυκα Παρθενιον Μυρινην ερσενικα
]τα και καθ υπογραφην την εν δημοσιωι (απολλωνιον)
 παρεπ]ιδημον ος και συριστι Ιωναθας
 καλειται οφει]λοντα μοι αργυριου Ερν αλλωι δε ουθενι ουθεν

In the remainder, the king and queen are made executors as usual, and some of the witnesses' names—Tlepolemos and Telesarchus, of the *Epigone*—are preserved. The date, therefore, is 238–237 B.C. There are curious words (*θηλυκα, ερσενικα*) for *male* and *female* slaves, and the Greek name of the Jew who owed the testator money—Apollonios—is apparently written in after the close of the line in faint characters.

Even after this welcome addition to our knowledge, there are plenty of problems remaining in the former text. The opening of l. 19 is very puzzling. In the last line I had at first read *περιδεραιου*, for which there is hardly enough room, then *περιδεσμον*; I now decide for *περιδεξιου*—a

word used in the LXX for *bracelet*; only the central bar of the Ξ is preserved, and this it was which long perplexed me.

The selection of the best specimens for the limited number of the autotypes was one of no small difficulty, and has resulted in a certain amount of wavering which has led to a few false indications. After the early sheets of this volume were already printed came the addition of fine material from Mr. Newberry in London; and so the Secretary of the Academy and I decided to postpone some of those already selected in favour of others of more interest. The reader will not complain of the inconsistency between the autotypes and the indications of them in the early sheets, for a correct list is furnished with the autotypes, and the change has provided him with much finer and fuller specimens. In any case the wealth and variety of the material made a selection very difficult. For what was the principle to be adopted? Certainly, in the first instance, palæographical interests must be consulted. For here are specimens of an age and variety quite unique. Then came the claims of classical fragments, concerning which scholars who had not seen the originals would never be satisfied with any human copy, but would always hope to detect, in the infallible report of the sun, something additional for themselves. But had I confined myself to the classical fragments and those remarkable for good writing, the reader would have had no notion of the average writing of the age, and hence of the amount of doubt which still encompasses many of the texts. For that reason some of the more fugitive and illegible had a claim to be included, not only to justify the decipherer, but in the hope that closer examination by independent inquirers might fill in gaps, and make corrections in his reading. Yet even these were by no means the most difficult, for they were still within the conditions of being photographed, whereas with many others the task is hopeless. Thus the remains of the *Laches* (Autotypes XVIII., XIX.), in spite of the unequalled skill and success of the Autotype Society's artists in this work, are not so reproduced as to afford more than a general support of the decipherment. The original is somewhat, though not much, plainer. Most of the other autotypes are as good as the originals. I therefore ask the reader who may feel annoyed at the number of gaps and queries to

decipher for himself a couple of the texts, say Autotypes M 163, R 1 (*d*), before he consults the transcription. He will then be in a position to make suggestions, which may prove very valuable, and to avoid making criticisms, which he may learn to be unmerited. Nor do I know any lesson so good in early Greek Palæography as this exercise. The handwritings are indeed far more various than could be inferred even from these specimens. Fifty Plates would not have exhausted these variations, which seem to me not less than those of our handwriting in the present day. But still the man who has honestly deciphered what is here reproduced will so thoroughly understand the *cachet* of a 3rd-century B.C. hand in Egypt, that he will hardly fail to recognise it, or the contrasts of later writing, when a new specimen is brought before him. Thus there is no longer any reasonable doubt in the mind of palæographers that the Leyden papyrus dated in the 26th year of Philadelphus, which the learned editor, Leemans, attributed to the reign of the last king of the name, "on account, he imagines, of the more modern character of the writing," really dates from the 2nd Ptolemy, and is therefore one of the very few documents of the kind as old as the Petrie Papyri.

The reader may, perhaps, be surprised that in determining the order of these documents I was not guided by the cases into which they were welded together. It might have been of interest to have all the papers from coffin A together, next those from B, and so on. A very short study of the fragments showed Mr. Sayce and me that such a course would be most inadvisable. The papers had been pulled in pieces, and used at random by men making several of these coffins at the same time, so that similarity of writing or of sense was in every case our guide, and never juxtaposition in the same *carton*. But, at all events, it was only the first consignment prepared by Mr. Petrie himself in which the various fragments were pasted down and marked with separate letters indicating the particular coffins. The second consignment, sent to me to Dublin, came in such a state that I could not possibly tell how many were the cases, nor to what cases each piece of papyrus board belonged. They were broken up in hopeless confusion. The letters, therefore, beyond T, and all combinations of letters, were set on by either Mr. Sayce, or by me, to show what pieces were found

glued together. Thus, X points to a group of four or five scraps found together, but it is impossible to say whether they may not have been used for the same coffin as some others—say, AA or YY. This will also account for the large number of denotations by letters—far more than the number of the coffins, which did exceed, according to Mr. Petrie's statement, thirty-five in number. In the third consignment, sent me by Mr. Newberry, only one set of fragments were marked u, the rest not at all, so that it only remained for me to note all of them by letters with an accent (u') to distinguish this group from the rest.

I do not believe that we have lost any real information by this want of precision. It has, no doubt, cost a great deal of labour to seek all the corresponding pieces and fit them together, whereas there may have been instances where the local proximity would have at once suggested the affinity. But no material suggestions of this kind could ever have superseded, or, indeed, relieved to any extent the patient toil of becoming familiar with the various hands, and going, perpetually, up and down through the whole vast collection in search of the remainder of each text which was sufficiently preserved to be of interest.

The letters, therefore, on each piece of cardboard which carries or protects these fragments, only indicate that those under the same letter were found together, those under different letters found separately, but not, therefore, necessarily in separate coffins. When the collection leaves our hands, it will be arranged according to these letters, which will serve as an index of reference to such scholars as will verify my readings, and decipher what I have left unread. I cannot but hope some day to make good the promises broken as regards some of the autotypes, and to reproduce both the texts originally selected, and then postponed, as well as the various addresses on the backs, which are interesting from their very obscurity, and need of further verification. But anything definite I cannot promise. The outlay of time and of funds upon the present Memoir have already far exceeded our proposed limits. There are pressing claims both upon the Royal Irish Academy and upon myself, to which even this fascinating research must now yield.

The remaining details here appended are the result of learned sugges-

tions made upon the sheets during the progress of printing by the most eminent living authority on Ptolemaic administration, Professor Giacomo Lumbroso, of Rome, and others. I earnestly request the reader to correct my commentary by noting these further points in the margin of the page to which they refer. For in this as yet constantly progressive study, corrections and changes of view must necessarily occur. Further studies of the published collections, concurrently with the deciphering of these, have enabled me to correct some statements not warranted by the evidence, or modified by other evidence which I had overlooked. It is indeed unusual in literary work to adopt a principle supported by great architects, and to *show construction* in a completed work. Nay, rather, a writer is more likely to be blamed 'for coming abroad when his affairs are in confusion at home,' and when the delay of two or three years might get rid of the tentative character of his enterprise. But in the first place it is certain that no single inquirer could ever hope to solve all, or nearly all, the problems contained in materials of this kind, so that finality may be regarded as hopeless.* Furthermore, to be admitted to the process of a discovery, to which each reader can contribute by correction or suggestion, is surely to add interest and profit to the work in the minds of those who are not mere critics, but serious fellow-students and co-operators with the Editor.

With this vindication of unusual features in the form of this Memoir I conclude the general introduction, and proceed to the details.

On I., l. 11, Lumbroso suggests that the first word should be supplied as *τοπογραμματαων*; but if this be so, it must be with some contraction, for there is not room for so long a word. The long dispute whether the *τοπογρ.* or the *κωμογρ.* was the superior, is now settled by Lumbroso (*Rev. ég.* vol. v. 37) as a difference not in rank, but in functions. The one looked after villages, the other after country farms. They are certainly quoted without fixed order, and generally together. Revillout thinks they were subject not only to the native priestly courts, but also to the *βασιλικος γραμματεως*, their

* As a remarkable example, I may refer to the reading of Pap. 13, in the Turin collection, by A. Peyron, and then by Revillout (*Rev. ég.* II. p. 124, *eq.*).

official superior, and even to the επιμελητης, who was the agent of the διοικητης. In the commentary the form should be archi-phylakites (not phylax). Perhaps our difficulty in determining the various functions of the officials and their courts, to which I have adverted above, pp. 9, 10, arises from a state of things similar to that in our own country, where we have Barons of Exchequer, Justices of the Queen's Bench, of the Common Pleas, &c., &c., all trying cases so like in kind that any foreigner or future inquirer would be completely puzzled to assign them their several functions. As at Athens in Demosthenes' day, and among us now, a complainant may even have had a choice of courts, and may have gone before the στρατηγος, the διοικητης, or the οικονομος, just as he pleased.

II. (2). On κεχρηματισμενην there should have been cited the parallel χρηματισαντες (την εντευξιν) εις κρισιν (A. Peyron, i., p. 10); την παρα του βασιλεως και της βασιλισσης κεχρηματισμενην εντευξιν of the Leyden Papyrus D, 6 (Leemans, p. 25), also the κεχρηματισται of E, 6, which is rather *officially sanctioned* than "distributed" (Leemans). The word recurs in the Louvre Pap. 30, 5; it is discussed by Lumbroso, *Econ. pol.*, p. 254 (and on χρηματισμος, p. 181). From all these examples, it clearly means the official examining and authoritative counter-signing of a document. The phrase in Diodorus (i. 70, 71) is repeatedly χρηματιζειν η κρινειν (of the kings): cf. also Revillout's excellent article *Rev. ég.* ii. 129.

II. (3) 6, should be φαμενωθ ια.

IV. (3) 9. διαφορον here means *interest* on money, as in other published papyri.

IV. (8) 6. Lumbroso suggests παραδεικνοντος εργα δοκιμαστου, the officer called *Proban* in quarries by the Romans.

IV. (9) 11. The perplexing word is probably σιτηγους.

IV. 10 is reprinted in a fuller form as XIII. 3 (p. [34]).

IV. 11. On the perplexing αωιλια, the fragment referred to in the commentary is printed on p. [118]. I have since found δραχμων αωιλιων.

VI. I have found an interesting parallel for my rendering of παραφρηνγανισμος in Wood's *Sources of the Oxus*, p. 22. The book should indeed be entitled, "the Indus and the Oxus," for the exploration of the Indus as a

navigable river is the most important part of the book. The general similarities between the lower Indus valley and that of the Nile—both large rivers skirted by deserts and chains of barren mountains, both irrigating a long narrow valley with a periodic inundation, both with a great delta, and the capital at its apex (Memphis and Hyderabad), both washing away land-marks and breaking down earthworks and banks in the course of their inundation, both maintaining a population beyond parallel isolated and self-supporting—are such as to suggest that the practical needs of Sindhia may now be met by many expedients similar to those used in Egypt in Ptolemaic days. Wood tells us that when the river, in its ever-changing currents, threatens to cut away a bank of land under tillage, the natives *protect the bank with branches of tamarisk*, so as to break the force of the water. This is therefore the process which was adopted in Egypt to save the clay mounds on which roads, and even villages, were built, and which would be sapped by the high water, especially if driven against them by a breeze. We have even tamarisks (*μυρικαι*) mentioned in the papyri, and perhaps the *πτολεμαιοδος δρυμος* (XLIII.), which puzzled me (cf. p. [118]), might serve for this important use.

VII. l. 3. I now read *λογος χωρων*. l. 10 *παννουβις*. l. 11 the *sigle* after γ is not \models but something strange, and the whole group is repeated at the end of l. 13. l. 12, *αδελφος της*. In l. 13 the M should be \mathbb{M} .

VIII. 1, col. A. After the printing of the commentary some other instances both of Hyperberetæus and Phaophi were found, so that the statement there is not correct.

IX. (2). The date is ζ , not σ ? and l. 7, *εως ι του παννι*.

X. 1. As regards the title *οικονομος* there can be little doubt, from a comparison of the various occurrences of the title in these papers, pp. [25], [58], [62], [64], [72]–[74], [79], [110], that he was an officer set over one of the *μεριδες*, or three divisions of the Arsinoite nome. In addition to the references just given, I have found a scrap beginning—

*ηρακλειδει οικονομωι παρ Απολλωνιου
του εξειληφοτος το ϖ εθινων?
της θεμιστιου μεριδος εις το κε^Λ*

XII. M. Lombroso, who is not satisfied with my explanation, cites an important reference from Hieronymus, Epist. cxxxvi., "In Ægypto—non habent in tectis culmina, sed domata, quæ Romæ vel solaria vel mœniana vocant." These latter (as regards Rome) are generally translated balconies, but must also include terraces on the roofs. Possibly therefore there may have been a storey taken down by the owners, or something of the kind. Wessely has written a commentary on this text.

XIII. (7) Both the Louvre Papyri, 63, των ἐπὶ των φυλακιδων τεταγμενων ναυκληρομαχιμων, Q. Curtius (4, 33), and the Rosetta Inscription naval duties for natives, especially the first, which speaks of the protection of the mouths of the Nile. Thus the *socii navales* of the Romans may have been copied, like so many Roman devices, from Alexandria.

XIII. (18 a), l. 3, the sum is 57 drs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ obols.

XIV. 3. I now think that *σρασεις* means *erections* (buildings), and propose to read the lines left untranscribed as follows:—

[illegible]

"For the unfinished [building] beside the barn . . . for drying the

foundation, and the"—. Then comes a line almost identical with l. 2 of the text. The symbols in l. 10 (which was erased), perplex me, and so does the figure 79½ at the end of line 11, for this cannot be the price of bricks per 10,000.

XVIII. 2. I have since found another scrap of this document, but unfortunately cannot fit it either in shape or sense into the former two. The name Sarambos, by the way, occurs in Plato's *Gorgias*:—

]συσ ?[
]νετ . υς τε . . . ων[
 σηρ]αμβ ηι . . [
 λεν ωστε και καταρραγηναι [μ]ερος τ[ι] του χωματος ?
 και παρωσας σηραμβον και γενομενο[
 δε]καταρχου επι τ[.] κελισμ ? απολλ[οδω]ρος
]μενους υπο σηραμβου η ερ εβ[
]σηραμβου[

XX. The note of Lumbroso (*Ec. pol.*, &c., p. 293) on the *σιτολογοι* should be consulted. On the duties of the *επιμελητης*, subordinate to the *διοικητης*, cf. Revillout, *Rev. ég.* v. p. 44, and my caution in the supplementary note on I., above.

XXIII. (1) There are two little fragments marked by Mr. Sayce Aa 19, which are so like in hand and papyrus that I take it they belong to this document—

εισα . . ν
 μεν και πα . . εμτι τηκεν
 τος πονηρ[ι]ας ψι . . . ζω . κα
 εγραψε πετεχων παραγε[
 ποιησεται της διωρυγος της[
 υος εφ ωι ορυξει τη[
 μων εργοις επι τη εγβατ[
 υμκσ . ετου αυτουργιου ?[

(4) I take this Herakleides to be the *οικονομος* already mentioned, pp. [61], [64], and probably, according to an unpublished fragment, the steward of the *μερις* of Themistios.

XXV. (c) Mr. Petrie tells me that green food (clover) is still sold in Egypt, in *bundles*, supposed to be of fixed dimensions. (g) 9 should read δε βαν at the end. This correction is due to Mr. Wilkins. On re-reading my commentary (p. [78]), it occurs to me as not quite certain that the donkey-boy who could not read, and is called Apollonios, was a foreign settler. On the contrary, I now incline to the opinion that many natives may have translated their names into some sort of Greek equivalents, and that, although an Egyptian name may be certain evidence for native extraction, those Greek names, such as Apollonios and Herakleides, which meet us at every turn in these papyri, may not be sure evidence against it. There is an actual case (above, p. 23) of a Jew called Jonathan taking the name Apollonios. Why may not this have occurred among the Egyptians? Krall states (cf. his note in *Rev. ég.* II. 348) that the duplication of names is quite common in [later] Greco-demotic papyri. (i). Leemans (*op. cit.* p. 74) thinks μέγας and μικρός in descriptions should be translated *senior* and *junior*, owing to the following collocation (Pap. N. 2, 13), επριατο Νεχουτης μικρος Ασωτος ως Λμ μεσος, μελιχρος, &c. But I have often seen a good-sized man called *little* in contrast to a taller one. I therefore see no reason to depart from my commentary.

XXVI. I desire here to add a few fragments of other receipts, which have some interest. On a scrap giving us the head of a column, in good cursive writing, but with a hole through the first three lines, we have:—

Zk	εις βαλαν[ει]α ? [. .]οι Ευκρα	
	τει Νικανορι ζχ	
	ροδων ι[.]ρτος χ	
	οινου ημιχουν ι=	
	ωια σ Αρτεμιδωρωι ζ	6
	/Γα=	
	κζ σ . . . ψα Οννωφρει	
	κρειβαι ονωι ζ	
	αρτοι Απολλωνι	
	ωι Δημητριου	10
	τωι παρα Νικαρ	
	χου ονηλατηι σ	
	

Zd. On a small piece of papyrus, but in good small writing, and separated by a broad margin, are the following:—

Λκδ μηνος αθυρ ομ?ολογει
 Δωρρου και Σωσιβιον[σ
 καφειου και χιτωνος καινου
 και σπυριδιον α τιμωμαι εκαστου
 σκαφειου ιδ χιωνα ιγ και σπυ?ριδιου

Λκδ μηνος αθυρ προσαγγελ? [
 Πετεχωντι αρχιφυλακιτηι
] ει αριστ . . . [

XXVIII., columns v. and vi. I have since found a narrow strip, which gives the missing figures of the upper half of column v., and the first letters of the opening words of column vi., with the date $\overline{\iota\omega}$ at the top. The documents referred to in the commentary (p. [97]), have been printed in the sequel, viz. [134], [140]. Φαρβαιθος may be the modern Horbet. The village name Αρσινωης χωμα points to drainage works carried out in the Queen's name, when the nome was reclaimed.

XXIX (a). The symbols at the end signify 18 dr. + $5\frac{1}{2}$ obols., and then $126 + 2\frac{1}{2}$ obols, which is the correct tot. ι stands for 3 obols ($\frac{1}{2}$ drachma), c and ∟ for $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ respectively.

b, c, d. There is yet another fragment of exactly similar import, and on the *recto* (cf. my remarks, p. [101]), an account of corn and barley on the farm of one Dinnys.

XXXII. (2a) Here I should have called attention to the distinction between φυλαξ and φυλακιτης, which does not correspond to the distinction I had supposed to exist between them. The φυλαξ is here an ordinary person, employed to watch crops in the fields; the φυλακιτης, plainly, a policeman.

XXXIII. I have another column of accounts, with four separate groups of figures complete, of which the first is—

Λγ φαμενωθ		
ανηλωματα $\beta^a \bar{\tau}^p$ (i.e. βασιλ. τραπεζης)		
κατεργον απο		
$\bar{\beta}$ ρκ		
$\bar{\gamma}$ ϕλθ		5
$\bar{\iota}\gamma$ ρξ	/αΣιθ	
$\bar{\iota}\delta$ ψκρ	/ωκ /βλθ	
$\bar{\iota}\epsilon$ ρβ	$\bar{\zeta}$ μις /ρμς	
	$\bar{\kappa}\varsigma$ π	
$\bar{\kappa}\gamma$ ρπ	$\bar{\kappa}\eta$ ρκ /φλσ	10
	$\bar{\beta}$ ^{χλ} (erasure)	

The various tots come out quite correctly.

The other groups contain problems which I must postpone to another occasion.

XXXIII. (a) Further consideration enables me to make the following suggestions and explanations on this difficult text:—In the first place all the amounts seem to be very small—evidently estimated in silver drachmæ. These sums, when multiplied by 120 to give the equivalent in copper coin, will appear considerable enough. The exact parallel is to be found in the Papyrus Sakkinis, first adequately printed and explained by Revillout in the *Revue égypt.* (iv., 18, sq.). Thus we have a tot of two previous figures, dr. 28 + a fraction (l. 4), which I cannot read, but which should be 2 obols, and then ι, which equals 3 obols. The tot is κηι = (28 dr. 5 obols), and then a sign to the right, which may only mean that the total is checked. Coming to l. 10, we should translate: “for loaves sent up to you—2 artabæ, κατεργον, i.e. for work done in sending them, ι, viz. 3 obols.” The repetition of the phrase in l. 25, where, for sending up loaves, one artaba, the charge is

$1\frac{1}{2}$ obols, makes this reading certain. The sign ϵ for the $\frac{1}{2}$ obol is well known. But, generally, one obol is given so —; whereas, all through this text it seems to be thus \neg . The figures in l. 24 are $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$, that is, dr. 5 + 3 obols + $\frac{1}{2}$ obol + $\frac{1}{4}$ obol. The last sign is very like the sign for *drachmæ*, but must here be a smaller fraction of the obol, and is not unlike what Revillout has found for this fraction. The sign for $\frac{1}{2}$ drachma (3 obols) is something between f and r , both of which I have used in the type to represent it. l. 32 seems to mean, “for the beasts” ($\kappa\tau\eta\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu$ for $\kappa\tau\eta\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$), 17 artabæ of *dourra* then an effaced sign like $\tilde{\chi}$, per artaba $\text{r}-\epsilon$ ($4\frac{1}{2}$ obols), makes in *drachmæ* $12 + 5\frac{1}{4}$ obols. I am not sure of this last reading (which should be $4\frac{1}{2}$), and leave the reader to justify the arithmetic. In col. B, l. 14, the $\kappa\epsilon$ seems to mean 26. The tot in the next line is effaced; so also between ll. 17 and 18 there is a line completely gone. These lights, though they do not by any means solve all the difficulties, will help scholars, who cannot see the papyrus itself, to explain it adequately. I should add, that the values for all these signs determined by Revillout in his brilliant essays in the *Revue égyptologique* (cf. especially III., pp. 84, *sq.*), have been tested by applying them to the new and more ancient texts in this volume, which now, for the first time, are accessible. The results are so perfectly satisfactory that no doubt whatever can remain regarding the soundness of his discovery. The great difficulty is to represent the *sigles* in our ordinary types.

(b), which is a bill for the “boiling down” and “drawing off” of various unguents, should be compared with what Lumbroso (*Econ. pol.*, pp. 134–5) has said upon the question. That most learned man has collected the details of Egyptian industry with equal skill and care. Several of the terms accessible in his materials are here, viz. $\kappa\upsilon\pi\rho\varsigma$, here *oil* of Cyprus, also *oil* of roses and of palm; but while many unguents mentioned in his list are found in our text, it adds several new ones.

XXXVII. (1) The Semphthis here mentioned addresses a letter (v 14) to Agathias, Strategus and Hipparch, in which he calls himself not only Komogrammateus of Lysimachis, but also “Crown farmer,” $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$.

(2). I have since found a fragment which seems to throw

[5*]

further light on the conjectures hazarded in the commentary. It runs thus:—

ειμουθη βασιλικω
 γραμματει παρα πα
 πασειτος του σοκμηου ?
 βασιλικου γεωργου εκγα
 γανews της ηρακλει δ
 δου μεριδος του αρσι
 νοιτου] νομου [
 φαωφι δ απογραφομαι
 κατα το προς
 (the rest is lost)

This may be the very Imouthes mentioned in the other text. At all events, we have an Egyptian acting not merely as a *κωμογραμματευς*, but as a royal scribe or secretary for this district. I have some suspicions, however, that the writer magnified the office, and though Imouthes was only a *κωμογρ.*, thought it polite to address him as a Court-secretary. We also hear, not for the first time (*cf.* Pap. Louvre, No. 12), of a royal or state husbandman, who must have been occupied in tilling the *χωρα βασιλικη*. The phrase *προσπιπτει μοι* in this sense is noted by Wilcken (*Abh. Berlin Acad.* for 1886, p. 57) as occurring elsewhere in papyri.

XXXVIII. (e). There are other scraps which may throw light on this curious document. Here they are:—

(a)

τ]ων Ανδρισκου
 Φ]ιλοθηρος Σωπατρου Αχαιος
 χωματικον ις αλικ Ἰγ . ληιμ ?[
 φυλακιτικον λειας προβατων κ[
 /κ ιγ= /ι κγύ δ
 σιτου φυλακ γ ιατρι β αποφαν ? εδ /ιδ
 και προς τα επανω — πυρων εδ
 /κ . . . ? πυρων ις γ

The first two of the following fragments are probably, also, from the same sheet as the text, but do not fit together; yet they bear, both in date and subject, on the autotyped text:—

(b)

(*Three illegible lines*)

τ]ου β^Λ χ̄ /α]= αλι[κης
τ]ου κσ^Λ χ̄ ια]= ϕ[
]πτολεμαιο^ς νικ[
]ρευσ της των θραικ[ων
κ]αλλικλεους της π[
]του κσ^Λ χ̄ η [

(c)

]λχ̄ πεζων
]της τ̄ >κ λχ̄ του β^Λ χ̄ α-
]ε[- του κσ^Λ χ̄ βι
]]-
]του β^Λ χ̄ δ- ϕ̄ γης α]-Ζ 5
]. χ̄ βι ϕ̄ γης]=c αλικ]- /καc .
]η= αλικης α= ϕ̄ γης γ=c
]χ̄ ε αλικ α= ϕ̄ γης α]= / [

(d)

/του β ^Λ χ̄	ρκε
αλικης	λη
ϕ̄ λειας	τια]-
ιερειου	κι
ϕ̄ χηνων	ιc]= 5
ϕ γης Μ	κδ
βυρσην τινης[	(not τιμης)
του κσ ^Λ κη	/ψιη ι
αλικης[

Here we have again soldiers, a Thracian, an Achæan, infantry cleruchs of 30 acres, and from the 7th >κ (some title for a regiment), either paying or receiving allowances for salt, care of dykes, herding of sheep or geese. As in Bavaria now, there was probably a communal herd for each duty, paid by contribution. I suspect λειας, (α) l. 4, to be for ληιας, and to refer to stubble grazed by sheep. There is not, so far as I can find, any parallel to these details in any published papyrus. Still more strange are the two dates

recurring in juxtaposition—year 26, and year 2. I can see no other explanation than that the one refers to the last year of Ptolemy III., and the other to the 2nd year of Ptolemy IV. But why not the first year? For this reason. It is well known that upon his accession the king counted the months remaining to complete the last full year of his predecessor as his first year. If, therefore, Ptolemy III. reigned 25 years and some months, these months were counted with the remainder of the year into the first year of the new king. But for taxing purposes this would be most inconvenient. All the books had opened with year 26, in the old king's life. I suggest, therefore, that for this purpose year 26 was completed, and the next year that appeared in the books was year 2 of the new king. But this would not prevent him from receiving his extraordinary *στέφανος* A^L mentioned in the text. If this interpretation be correct, there must be parallel cases in other papyri or inscriptions. There is, I know, some hesitation among the chronologers whether Euergetes completed even his 25th year. The evidence of these documents may help to settle that question also.

Unfortunately, there is a word in (a) l. 3, and one in 6, which I cannot decipher. The name Philotheros occurs once in the CIG, and is there the name of an officer sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the island of Ceos on public business. The present man, belonging to the regiment of Andriskos, apparently pays the taxes of a soldier, for he is charged for the protection of his crop (l. 6), and still more oddly for his booty (if *λεια* be right) of sheep. What *προς τα επανω* with a horizontal line following (which may possibly be an *μ*) means I cannot tell.

XXXVIII. (a) and (b). It is noticed by Wood ("Oxus," &c., p. 24) that on the lower Indus the fishing is in the hands of the government, who let it to the various villages. The government impost is every third fish, and a fixed tax on each village besides. The farming of these taxes is let to private individuals. Wood notices the convenience and the economy to the natives of paying most of these taxes *in kind*, as the government or farmer of the taxes can perform the collection and sale of goods with great saving of labour, and hence profit to both sides on the transaction. All these circumstances seem to have their parallel in Egypt.

ON THE SYMBOLS USED FOR MONEY AND MEASURES IN THESE PAPYRI.

Money.—I have, as yet, found no mention of gold coin, or the words *στατηρ*, or *τετραδραχμη*, or *διδραχμη*. All sums of money seem to be expressed in terms of the drachma, multiplied or divided, whether it be a silver or copper drachma. There is no distinct statement to be found of the relative values of these metals.

For *drachme* (whether silver or copper) the symbols are \vdash \perp \angle ; in one case, VIII. (1) B, the symbol E is used where we should expect drachma, but what it signifies I cannot tell. The subdivisions of the drachma are as follows: 1 obol, — or \neg ; 2 obols, =; 3 obols ($\frac{1}{2}$ dr.) \imath or \jmath ; 4 obols, \jmath —; 5 obols, \jmath =; $\frac{1}{2}$ obol, c; $\frac{1}{4}$ obol, \angle , but this sign is so various, that I am not sure whether it only represents one fraction.

The ordinary figures which appear in Greek inscriptions are used for numbers of drachmæ, including q for 90, π 900, and the archaic Σ (not c) for 200.

Thousands are expressed by a curl to the left over the letter, viz. for 1000 $\bar{\Lambda}$, which is often very like our 2. There is great difficulty in distinguishing A, Δ , and Λ ; but in the case of thousands the last of these does not appear, for 30,000 is written $\bar{\bar{M}}$, the sign for 10,000 being M (*μυριοι*). I have found numbers ranging from $\bar{\bar{M}}$ as high as $\bar{\bar{M}}^a$, viz. 1,011,000.

Ordinary fractions are expressed by setting an upright line or accent over the letter which gives the denominator, the numerator being always assumed to be unity. The only exceptions I have found are \angle and c; but I have as yet found no special sigle for $\frac{2}{3}$, as there is in later papyri. In the present papyri $\frac{2}{3}$ would be expressed by $\frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3}$. In making up the composite fractions the accountants show considerable skill, e.g. p. [192].

The sum of an addition is marked by /, which is certainly an abbreviation of *Γ(ι)νεται*, *it comes to*, as we have the full word in XXXVIII. (d); the remainder of a subtraction is marked by O, of which I do not know the origin. Division by 2 seems to be expressed by \angle , possibly the same sign as that for $\frac{1}{2}$ drachma.

Measures of length.—σχοινια, πλεθρα, πήχεις occur, and with them the enigmatical αωιλια or ανωιλια.

Measures of Capacity.— χ seems to be used both for χοινιξ and χους; $\hat{\kappa}$ stands for κοτυλη.

In the case of corn α stands for artaba, and in the case of green fodder ΔΕ for δεσμαι or bundles, supposed to be of fixed size. In the present day green fodder for cattle is sold in precisely the same way throughout Egypt.

ναυβια (Part I.) is explained by Wilcken in a private communication to me as *baskets*, from the Egyptian word, and we can well imagine the carrying of clay for dykes being so measured. But (1) we have the ordinary Greek word σπυρις used more than once; (2) there are fractions added to the large numbers where ναυβια occurs. I cannot therefore yet see my way to accept his suggestion.

My pleasantest task, in bringing this long and arduous labour to a close, and committing it to the examination of the learned world, is to thank those who have stolen time from their own pressing avocations and aided me with their counsel. Dr. WRIGHT, Editor of the Academy publications, has been unwearied in reading the proofs, arranging the headings, and clearing away most of the inconsistencies which had otherwise crept into the publication.

Mr. MAUNDE THOMPSON, as before, has given us his inestimable aid in controlling the work of the Autotype Company, and, moreover, he and his colleagues have permitted me to see advance sheets of their great new *Catalogue* of the *B. M. Papyri*, from which I gathered many useful hints.

My colleague, Mr. BURR, has frequently aided me in special points of deciphering and by acute suggestions, so that I can only regret that his many official and literary occupations have prevented him from giving me more of that precious time which he was so willing to spend in helping me.

Professor W. WILCKEN has not only sent me many of his instructive papers, but has always been ready to criticise and suggest whenever I have submitted a difficulty to his skill and experience; and this is true of several other foreign friends, notably Prof. LUMBROSO, of Rome, and

Professor GOMPERZ, of Vienna. Had I lived within daily reach of any such specialist, this work would doubtless have been far more free from errors.

Another colleague, the Rev. GEORGE WILKINS, has generously undertaken the labour of preparing the Index—an essential part of such a fragmentary collection as the present, and most interesting and valuable in giving us a *conspectus* of the Greek spoken in the Arsinoite province of Egypt in the third century B.C. Our knowledge of the best Hellenistic Greek is thus materially increased.

The excellence of the typography of the DUBLIN UNIVERSITY PRESS speaks for itself, but few readers will realize the extreme complication and difficulty of the work, and the skill and care with which obstacles have been overcome. A careful printer is no less necessary to the success of a book than a careful author.

I conclude by repeating the monumental words of the greatest of my predecessors in this field :

Superest, ut docti viri æqui bonique faciant conatus meos. Ac facient profecto, si secum recogitent prima tentamina in re non bene perspecta optima esse, si mediocritatem attingant.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

As explained in the Introduction, some further fragments became accessible during the printing of this Memoir, after some of the earlier sheets had been struck off, and it was considered advisable to make a selection from these in preference to some already chosen. This will make the following alterations in the Text necessary, which, to avoid possible confusion, the reader will do well to make at once with his pen :—

- Page [2], line 7 of Commentary, *for* III. *read* II.
Pages [2] and [3]—*Omit* the word [*Autotyped.*]
Page [3], line 6 from bottom—*Omit* the words (see Plate of Addresses).
Page [4], line 24 from top—*Omit* the words (cf. Plate of Addresses).
Page [6]—*Omit* the word [*Autotyped.*]; and last line, *omit* the words cf. the last Plate of this series (Addresses).
Pages [7], [8], [10], [18], and [22]—*Omit* the word [*Autotyped.*]
Page [13], *for* Α 1 *read* Β 33.
Pages [25], [48], and [49]—*Add* the word [*Autotyped.*]
Page [26]—*Omit* the word [*Autotyped.*]
Page [42], line 4, *read* αλλ.
Page [50], line 1, *for* ου *read* [ου]ν.
Page [65], line 18, *for* κωμε *read* κωμη.
Page [111], lines 9 and 20, *read* Ποσειδωνιωι.

I add a note from Professor SAYCE :—

I much regret that my absence in Egypt should have prevented me from being of any assistance to Mr. MAHAFFY in the difficult and laborious task he has performed with such skill, and it is now impossible for me to undertake the work of comparing the papyri with my collection of Greek ostraka, as I once intended to do. All I can now do is to add two or three notes as follows :—

INTRODUCTION.

PAGE

- 32, xxv. i.—Mohammedan Egyptians, the number of whose names is limited, are still distinguished from one another by epithets. One of my sailors, for example, is always called 'Ali el-tawwîl, "Ali the tall."

TEXT.

PAGE

[18], line 24, No. VII.—The Jewish name of Simon recurs on the Karnak ostraka, from which we learn that Simon was a tax-gatherer at Thebes in the time of Ptolemy Physkôn.

[25], No. X.—The “goose-herd” is mentioned in one of my Karnak ostraka, which is dated in the 23rd year of Ptolemy Physkôn. The text runs thus :

ετυς κγ φαρμουθι $\overline{\lambda}$
 παραδιδω(σι) εις το [κ]αθ(ολον) του αυτου ετους
 Πετεςουχις χηνοβοσκος
 αχυ(ρου) μωια τριακοντα / λ

The ostrakon is signed by Πτολεμαιος and written by Alkimachos, εγρα(ψεν) Αλκιμα(χος). I should add that in the ostraka of the Ptolemaic period, the Egyptian word *μωια* takes the place of *γομοι*, which appears in the ostraka of the Roman time.

[30], last line.—*Think for thing.*

[81], No. XXV.—One of my ostraka from Karnak indicates either that each donkey-boy was taxed, or that he had to pay a tax upon each of his donkeys, as is at present the case in Egypt. It gives a list of the taxable donkey-boys at Karnak (λογος των ονηλατων).

[83], line 19, No. XXVII.—Δεκα δυο for δωδεκα occurs occasionally in the ostraka.

[100], line 28, No. XXIX.—The abbreviation χ is frequent in the ostraka, and signifies *χωματα*. These were not only the embankments of a canal, but also the mounds which enclosed a *hod* or irrigation-basin.

[103], No. XXX.—Barren land (αφορος) means land beyond the reach of the inundation or (in the Fayyûm) of irrigation; unwatered land (αβροχος) is what is now called *sherâgi*, that is, land which is unwatered, and therefore barren wherever there is not a good Nile.

[109], line 25, No. XXXII.—The *κασσοποιοι*, or *κασσοποιοι*, are mentioned on several ostraka found at Erment, which I have published in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archæology for November, 1884 (pp. 12–14). Here are two of them :—

(1) Ερμοδωρος ο εξειληφως το τέλος των κασσοποιων και γναφαλλογων
εις το αL Πετεαργηρει χαιρειν εχω παρα σου το τέλος μεχειρ και φαμενωθ και
φαρμουθι μαδ̄.

(2) Ερμοδωρος ο εξ[ειληφως το τε]λος των κασσοπ[οιων του] Κοπτιτου
εις La Σ[ορωι χαιρειν] εχω παρα σου εις [τον . . λογον] χαλκου Lσ

[134], last line, No. XXXIX.—The ostraka show that πρ^α stands for πρακτωρ.

[144], No. XLIV.—The mention of a “Tyrrenian” is illustrated by Prof. Krall’s discovery of a portion of an Etruscan linen book in the wrappings of the Agram mummy.

[152].—Απομοιρας is found in my Theban ostraka of the Ptolemaic time. Thus we have: ετους κη μεσορη λ̄ με(τρειται) εις την εν Δ(ιο)σπολει τηι με(γαληι) τρα(πεζαν) εφ ης Μενελαος απομοιρας κζL Αμια(ς) Σολλουσιος χα(λκους) Ϛ εξακοσιας εικοσι πεντε / χκε.

A. H. S.

TRANSCRIPTIONS, COMMENTARIES, AND INDEX.

PART II.

I.
FRAGMENT OF A PETITION.

H 131

..... [επ]ειφ κζ̄ εγρ
.....]τηι παρ Αθηνοδωρου γεωμετρον
..... [τ]ου υπομνηματος δεομενος και
.....]πιπτων μετα δακρυων
.....]πρεσβυτερον οντα και τα τεκνα 5
.....]την των ανθρωπων αιρεσιν
.....]α καιρον ειδως οια μοι συμβαλλουνται
.....]τος θαρσησας ωικονομησα καθοτι
.....]δε ταυτα Ωρος απελθων αφ υμων
.....]εις Αφροδιτης πολιν μετα των το- 10
[παρχων και των] κωμογραμματαων και των γεωργων
.....]το ιερον διηγγειλαν αυτοις κεκιν
[ησθαι? . . .]των καθ αυτους δια τα επιδοθεν
[τα]δε διαπειλουμενων ημιν ευλαβον-
[μενοις? . . .]μεθα εν Παστοφοριωι εν τωι φρουριωι 15
. [ου δυ]ναμενοι εκκνψαι αλλα και απο της
.....]εν ημας Ματρων δια τους περι Ωρον
.....]νος ελεησαντα ημας ειτε δια το
δικαιον? . . .]ειτε δια το υπηρετηκοτας σοι
προτερον γε]νησθαι εαν σοι φαινεται ινα μη πα 20
.....]ταξας γραψαι Αμυνται τωι
.....]Ενηρειτωι αρχιφυλακιτηι
.....]ειν τας χειρας ημιν και τοις παρα
.....]εως του σε επι τους τοπους
ελθειν και φρ]οντισαι περι ημων 25
ευτυχει

This fragment is closely parallel in ink and texture to the next, for, as Mr. Petrie informs me, large slabs of these boards of papyrus-layers were first made, and then cut by the coffin-maker according to an outline drawn on the surface. The hand also is almost identical with the next, and is probably the official hand of the day, paralleled not so much in the letters to Kleon, as in those to Phaies, and in XIX. of Part I. It is the supplication of an old man, with children, who claims to have done service, and is locked up in some fort close to a Pastophorium. Probably he requests a letter to the Archi-phylax, the captain of the guard, to obtain his release. The portion cut off is not easy to determine or supply. According to the restorations in ll. 11 and 25, the average loss would be eleven or twelve letters. The abbreviation εγρ, l. 1 (probably εγραψε), should be noted. The spelling (which I have carefully reproduced) is not accurate: cf. ll. 7, 19.

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI, PART II.

4 [1]

II.

CORRESPONDENCE OF DIOPHANES, STRATEGUS, 260-59 B.C.

(1)

COMPLAINT FROM ONETOR, &c.

[Autotyped.]

H 125

Διοφ]ανει στρατηγῳ παρ Ονητορος και
 Ασκλη]πιαδου και Μουσαιου δοντων ημων
 την εν]τευξιν εις το του βασιλεως ονομα
 κατα Λ]υσανδ[ρο]ν ῥ᾽ ἔ] της Δ ιπ οτι μ[ι]σθω
 σαμε]νων ημων εν τῳ κσL οδη[. .]αια 5
]το [. .]στιν τον κληρον αυτ[ω] τον
 οντα]περι Ευημεριαν της Θεμισ[τιου
 μεριδ]ος πυρων * φ και της συγγραφης
 της μ]ισθωσης διαγορευουσης κομισασθαι
 αυτο]ν τ[α] εκφορια οταν η αφεσις δοθη και 10
]το κε[κ]ομισμενου ηδη [αυ]του πυρων * ρλι[
 ημων] διαμαρτυρομενων αυτον και το λοιπον
]σθαι ταξαμενον τα γινόμενα τοις
]ταις επι μεν της αλω κατεφθειρεν
 πολυ]του σιτου καθαρευοντος αει αναβαλλο 15
 μενος] ουκ ολιον χρονον νυν τε υπο [τῶ]ν γενη
]ς φυλακων ηρμενος ο σιτος[. . ε]νεχετ[αι]
 εν τ]ῳ εν Ευημεριαι Σουχειῳ συν τοις ημε
 τερ]οις επι γενημασι και ταυτα παντα απε .
 αλίσκ]εται κακοτεχνων οπως του χρονου [. . 20
 προε]λθοντος αναγραφη ημειν τονε[. .]λυμ ?
]ον καιπερ της συγγραφης της μισθωσης

The restoration of the first word is morally certain. The writing is remarkably fine, but a strip has been cut away at the left side, reaching right down the column. How broad was the strip? Have we a minute of at least four officers—the second name being lost—concerning an inquiry into the conduct of a certain Lysander, a hundred-acre man, and a veteran of the 4th hipparchy; or can we fill up the sense with an average of four letters to commence each line? I think the latter, and suppose the construction of ll. 3 and 4 to be δοντων ημων εντευξιν: [κατα] Λυσανδρου. The year 26 (of Ptolemy III.) is mentioned as the date. A land-lot (κληρος) was concerned, situated in the Division of Themistios, one of the three sections of the nome which lasted for centuries. I have been obliged to use ιπ for the sigle combining ι and π, and an asterisk for the sign denoting *artabas* (500). In l. 11 the same sign recurs, but the number following is very faint. This Lysander appears to have injured or destroyed the produce of some farm which afforded a lien for the payment of his rent.

[2]

II.

CORRESPONDENCE OF DIOPHANES.

(2)

LETTER FROM MOSCHION.

[Autotyped.]

H 123

Μοσχίων Διοφάνει χαιρεῖν ἐκομίσεν μοι Δωριμαχὸς ἐντευξίν κεχρηματισμένην[ν]
κατὰ Διονυσίου ἐν τῇ ὑπεγεγραπτο φροντισαὶ ὅπως τῶν δικαίων τύχῃ ἀνακαλε-
σαμένος οὖν τὸν Διονύσιον ἐπαγγέλων αὐτῷ τὴν ἐντευξίν καὶ ἐκέλευον τὰ δι-
καία τῷ Δωριμαχῷ ποιῆσαι ἀντιλεγόντος δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου μῆθεν εἶχεν τῶν
διὰ τῆς ἐντευξέως ἐγκεκλημένων ἀπεσταλκά αὐτὸν πρὸς σὲ τῇ ᾠ
τοῦ Φαρμουθι ἐρρωσο L κε φαρμουθι εἶ

Below is a word which Mr. Sayce reads :

Μοσχίων

On the back, in capitals (upside down direction to the text) :

ΔΙΟΦΑΝΕΙ

And in small cursive :

L κε ἀπελλαιον ἰ φαρμουθι σ

Μοσχίων περὶ Διονυσίου . . . ?

Δωριμαχὸς

This clearly dated and complete document unfortunately gives us no details. We have both Dionysius and Dorimachus mentioned so often in these papers, that they must have been officials, but their status is nowhere mentioned. The date is the 25th year, I maintain of the second, not the third Ptolemy. The reasons are given in the Introduction. If so, it is a fine specimen of the official hand of 260 B.C. The sense is as follows:—

“Moschion to Diophanes, greeting. Dorimachus brought me an official (or certified) petition against Dionysius, in which it was stated that I should see that the former met with justice. Having, therefore, summoned Dionysius, I read him the petition, and directed him to behave justly to Dorimachus. But when Dionysius denied that any of the charges against him in the petition were founded, I have sent him to you on the 6th of Pharmouthi.

Good-bye. Year 25, Pharmouthi 5th.”

The only word presenting any difficulty is *κεχρηματισμένην*, which I have rendered in the sense of *formally notified*. A word scribbled below the text Mr. Sayce reads as Moschion. I cannot see the correctness of this decipherment, and may observe that a signature of the writer under a letter is not to be found in these papers. The letters seem to read *εωσχυν*, which make no sense. The address to Diophanes on the back (see Plate of Addresses) is in very large writing, but the official note, probably made by the clerk who kept these documents, is not easy to read. Mr. Sayce had not deciphered it. I am only at a loss to explain the last letters of the second line of the note. The double date is most interesting (cf. Part I. [68, (1)]), and the general sense is plain. The word I cannot read states that while the letter is from Moschion, the real complaint is from Dorimachus. It may be *εγρ(α)λε*, or *εγκ(α)λε*.

[3]

II.

CORRESPONDENCE OF DIOPHANES.

(3)

LETTER FROM DIOSCOURIDES.

H 124

(a) [*Autotyped.*] (b)

Διοσκουριδης Διοφανει τωι πατρι χαιρ[ειν ει εν α]λλοις αλυπως απαλ
λασσεις ειη αν ως εγω τοις θεοις εσχομεν [χαριν αληθ]ινον Ασκληπιαδης
ο αποδεδωκως σοι την επιστολην εστιν [πραγματων εν]εκεν αναπλεων
π]ερι τινος σου χρεϊαν
ηι απανγελλειν τοις δ
φαμενωθ

(a) *Verso, upside down, in capitals:*

ΔΙΟΦΑΝΕΙ

(b) *Verso (in the same direction):*

π]ερι Ασκληπιαδου

And in small and nearly effused letters:

Λ κε απελλαιου τα (and possibly φαρμουθι ς)

διοσκουριδης περι ασκλη-
πιαδου] στρατηγωι

[*And an illegible line.*]

I brought together these two pieces, which are identical in papyrus and writing, and believed I had so determined the case. Indeed, it is hard to imagine that the combination is not correct. "Dioscourides to his father, greeting. If in other matters you are getting on without annoyance, may there be, as we feel, true gratitude to the gods. Asclepiades, who is going up the river on [business]—". The ends of the last two lines afford us too little to make further sense. The year is lost, the month mentioned (l. 6) is Phamenoth. The curious word in the letter of introduction is απαλλασσεις, in the sense of "coming off" satisfactorily.

But the notes on the back (cf. Plate of Addresses) do not seem to support my combination. The address and note on the left side are in the upside down direction, and make the other note, which is not so, superfluous. The month is here 11th of Apellæus, and I think the 6th of Pharmouthi.

(4)

H 129

LETTER FROM HIS FAMILY.

.....]και η θυγατηρ σου και τα παιδια
.....]ωρει ειη αν ως ημεις τοις θεοις
.....]αυτος και Διοσκουριδης ο υιος σου
.....]επιστολην συνεσταθη ημιν υπο
.....]ας χρεϊαν εχων [...] γραψαι προς σε
.....]ς πορευηται σοι ευχαριστηθεις μοι
.....]γνωται δι ημας γε πολυωρημενος
.....]επι]μελομενος να ως αν συμμε.... μεν
.....]πρ]οσθεμα? ερρωσο

I have put this next, as it is also a letter to Diophanes from his wife and children, and on the same subject—an introduction, possibly of the same man.

But the remains are too small to warrant any further inference. Both papyrus and writing are very like the former. πολυωρεισθαι, "to be made much of," is common in these papers.

[4]

FRAGMENTS.

διο επεχω εως αν εξελθῃ εαν[.
 και συ γραψον Ξανθιππῳ ινα[.
 πολυωρηση[ι ε]μου προφασεως δε[. . .
 οι περι Δημητριον του αυτοις απο[. . .
 υπο [τ]ου Ξανθιππου προς α[.
 ποησουσιν ουτος π [.
 χορηγων κα[ι
 απαντων[.
 εις ενετη[.

καταλευψω ο[ν α]υτον εως του δυ[ρασθαι] ? . . .
 παρα δυναμιν δε καιτοι παλαι εκ[.
 αντεχομαι εχω γαρ ελπιδα του απ[. . . .
 ειδε εισχουν αι συ τοις προισταμε[νοις]
 χρειας παρεχεσ[θ]αι κατα την ως εκ [τεχνην superscribed]
 επιτασσει παλαι αν τι συνετετελεσ[θη] ?
 ου δε αφιλοτιμως μου αντιλαμβανηι ουν . . .
 ποιων L κε χοιαχ δ

] . αλλα η βουλ

[6]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, ARCHITECT, 255-4 B.C.

(1)

COMPLAINT FROM QUARRYMEN.

[Autotyped.]

B 3 I

(a)

(b)

Κλεωνι αρχιτεκτονι χαιρειν οι δεκαταρχοι των λατομων απο της
 εγβατηριας αδικουμεθα υπο Απολλωνιου του εργοδιωκτου εμβαλων
 ημας εις την στερεαν πετραν ο[υτε] ελομενος ερασει ημιν προς
 τους λοιπους την δε μαλακην τ[ην] παρ αυτου παρεδειξεν νυνι δε απολ
 λυμεθα εισαναλίσκοντες σιδηρο[ν] . . . σωμα δεομεθα σου ινα του δικαιου 6
 [τυχωμεν] ειω τετμηκα[.] ες την στερεαν
] μ λατομους ινα μη ημεις θλιβωμεθα
 ευτυχει

On the back of (b) (in the same vertical direction):

Λλ φαωφι κδ
 οι δεκατοκυριοι
 οι απο της εγβατηριας

This document is a complaint from certain quarrymen, through their head-men, called decurions (the Greek word is new to us), that the ganger, or sub-overseer, Apollonios, has ill-treated them by keeping them at quarries of hard stone, on which they require to use iron and excessive labour. The general sense is plain, in spite of the gaps, and the loss of the earlier part of the lower lines.

2. εγβατηρια, the landing-place.
 εργοδιωκτης is used in this very sense in the LXX.
3. The erasure is not (I think) intentional, and conceals from us about nine letters—one or two words.
 What the device of A. was, who let the men believe that the stone was soft, I cannot determine. Mr. Sayce has filled in the gaps, but doubtfully.
5. S. suggests και σωμα, but it seems unlikely.
6. I cannot see, as S. did, the vestiges of τετμηκοτε.
7. The μ may possibly be a figure, as we have in IV. (8), οι ρμ λατομοι, the 140 quarrymen.

On the back, S. read after the date, Κλεωνι, which I cannot identify. The date must be the 30th year of the 2nd Ptolemy, but the letter is very faint, and is only established by the dates of the accompanying documents. The month Phaophi, which is as rare as its Macedonian equivalent Hyperberetæus in these papers, is quite clear. But what follows the κδ I cannot decipher.

After much trouble I read (l. 2) the curious variant δεκατοκυριοι (for δεκαταρχοι), and also the 3rd line: cf. the last Plate of this series (Addresses).

[*]

(2)

MINUTE FROM APOLLONIOS.

[Autotyped.]

G III

Απολλωνιος Κλεωνι χαιρειν εγραψα σοι τη ιζ
 την [γ]ενομενην μοι καταστασιν προς τους δεκαταρχους
 επι Διοτιμου περι του πληθους των σωματος και της ταγης
 των λιθων και ον τροπον ανωμολογηνται επι Διοτιμου
 τα τε ελλειποντα σωματα προσκαταστησειν και την τα- 5
 γην των λιθων αναπληρωσειν πασαν εως της νουμηνιας
 ει αν αυτοις χορηγηθη σιδηρος και εγραψα σοι ο δει δοθηναι εις
 . καστον αργου και το κατεργον και νυν δε καλως αν ποιησαις
 συνταξας χρηματισαι σφηνας εις εκαστον τους υπογεγραμμε-
 νους ινα τας προφασεις αυτων περιελωμεν Τεχεσθει εις α 10
 εξηριθμημεθα σωματα συν παιδαρις ιη σφηνας δ
 Βεροθει συν παιδαρις σωμασιν ιε σφηνας γ Αν . μνευει
 συν παιδαρις σωμασιν ιη σφηνας δ Παους συν παιδαρις
 σωμασιν ις σφηνας γ Πεσσαι συν παιδαρις σωμασιν ιζ
 [σ]φηνας δ φαμονυει συν παιδαρις σωμασιν ιβ 15
 [σφ]ηνας γ . ψιντ[. . . . συ]ν παιδαριο[ις
 π]ετεχωντ[ι]εις[. .]ζ
 . .]ανησει[.

On the back (upside down), in large letters, ΚΛΕΩΝΙ

I have put this text in immediate juxtaposition with the last, seeing that it is the minute of the ganger Apollonios on the same dispute. The case of the workmen, which they argued before Diotimos, as arbitrator, against Apollonios (ll. 2, 3), seems to have been that they were not supplied with iron for wedges and tools. This was probably an expensive metal. The ganger advises that iron wedges should be supplied to the foremen (whose names show that they were all Egyptians) and their slaves. We know from a text since found that the λατομοι were free labourers. The allowance of wedges does not seem in a fixed proportion to the number of workmen. L. 8. There is a difficulty in this line, whereas the rest of the text is quite easy. He says: I have written to you what should be given to each of idle and the working (time?). These terms are, however, generally used of land—idle and cultivated. l. 11, παιδαρις is surely a mistake of the writer.

There is another fragment, apparently from the close of the same account, viz. :—

]γ . αποπ . . αυτου πετε[
]παιδαρις εις ζ σφηνας β φαμ[
]σφηνας β /α εξηριθμημεθα συνπα[ντα
]ροε οις γινονται οι προγεγραμμεν[οι
 χρη]ματισθιντος δε αυτοις και εις εκαστον σφηνα παρ[
 συνακολουθειτω δε τις παρα σου τη ομ[
 ου επιδ . ν . . τι αυτοις διδο[
 στομωματ[

[?]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, ARCHITECT, 255-4 B.C.

(1)

COMPLAINT FROM QUARRYMEN.

[Autotyped.]

B 3 I

(a)

(b)

Κλεωνι αρχιτεκτονι χαιρειν οι δεκαταρχοι των λατομων απο της
 εγβατηριας αδικουμεθα υπο Απολλωνιου του εργοδιωκτου εμβαλων
 ημας εις την στερεαν πετραν ο[υτε] ελομενος ερασειτε ημιν προς
 τους λοιπους την δε μαλακην τ[ην] παρ αυτου παρεδειξεν νυνι δε απολ
 λυμεθα εισαναλίσκοντες σιδηρο[ν] . . . σωμα δεομεθα σου ινα του δικαιου 5
 [τυχωμεν] ειω τετμηκα[.] ες την στερεαν
] μ λατομους ινα μη ημεις θλιβωμεθα
 ευτυχει

On the back of (b) (in the same vertical direction):

Λλ φαωφι κδ
 οι δεκατοκυριοι
 οι απο της εγβατηριας

This document is a complaint from certain quarrymen, through their head-men, called decurions (the Greek word is new to us), that the ganger, or sub-overseer, Apollonios, has ill-treated them by keeping them at quarries of hard stone, on which they require to use iron and excessive labour. The general sense is plain, in spite of the gaps, and the loss of the earlier part of the lower lines.

2. εγβατηρια, the landing-place.
 εργοδιωκτης is used in this very sense in the LXX.
3. The erasure is not (I think) intentional, and conceals from us about nine letters—one or two words.
 What the device of A. was, who let the men believe that the stone was soft, I cannot determine. Mr. Sayce has filled in the gaps, but doubtfully.
5. S. suggests και σωμα, but it seems unlikely.
6. I cannot see, as S. did, the vestiges of τετμηκοτες.
7. The μ may possibly be a figure, as we have in IV. (8), οι ρμ λατομοι, the 140 quarrymen.

On the back, S. read after the date, Κλεωνι, which I cannot identify. The date must be the 30th year of the 2nd Ptolemy, but the letter is very faint, and is only established by the dates of the accompanying documents. The month Phaophi, which is as rare as its Macedonian equivalent Hyperberetæus in these papers, is quite clear. But what follows the κδ I cannot decipher.

After much trouble I read (l. 2) the curious variant δεκατοκυριοι (for δεκαταρχοι), and also the 3rd line: cf. the last Plate of this series (Addresses).

[*]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, ARCHITECT, 255-4 B.C.

(2)

MINUTE FROM APOLLONIOS.

[Autotyped.]

G IIII

Απολλωνιος Κλεωνι χαιρειν εγραψα σοι τη ιζ̄
 την [γ]ενομενην μοι καταστασιν προς τους δεκαταρχους
 επι Διοτιμου περι του πληθους των σωματων και της ταγης
 των λιθων και ον τροπον ανωμολογηνται επι Διοτιμου
 τα τε ελλειποντα σωματα προσκαταστησειν και την τα- 6
 γην των λιθων αναπληρωσειν πασαν εως της νουμηνιας
 ει αν αυτοις χορηγηθη σιδηρος και εγραψα σοι ο δει δοθηναι εις
 . καστον αργου και το κατεργον και νυν δε καλως αν ποιησαις
 συνταξας χρηματισαι σφήνας εις εκαστον τους υπογεγραμμε-
 νους ινα τας προφασεις αυτων περιελωμεν Τεχεςθαι εις α 10
 εξηριθμημεθα σωματα συν παιδαρις ιη σφήνας δ
 Βεροθει συν παιδαρις σωμασιν ιε σφήνας γ Αν . μνευει
 συν παιδαρις σωμασιν ιη σφήνας δ Παους συν παιδαρις
 σωμασιν ις σφήνας γ Πεπσαι συν παιδαρις σωμασιν ιζ̄
 [σ]φήνας δ φαμουνει συν παιδαρις σωμασιν ιβ 15
 [σφ]ήνας γ . ψιντ[. . . . συ]ν παιδαριο[ις
 π]ετεχωντ[ι]εις[. .]ζ
 ..]ανησει[.

On the back (upside down), in large letters, ΚΛΕΩΝΙ

I have put this text in immediate juxtaposition with the last, seeing that it is the minute of the ganger Apollonios on the same dispute. The case of the workmen, which they argued before Diotimos, as arbitrator, against Apollonios (ll. 2, 3), seems to have been that they were not supplied with iron for wedges and tools. This was probably an expensive metal. The ganger advises that iron wedges should be supplied to the foremen (whose names show that they were all Egyptians) and their slaves. We know from a text since found that the λατομοι were free labourers. The allowance of wedges does not seem in a fixed proportion to the number of workmen. L. 8. There is a difficulty in this line, whereas the rest of the text is quite easy. He says: I have written to you what should be given to each of idle and the working (time?). These terms are, however, generally used of land—idle and cultivated. l. 11, παιδαρις is surely a mistake of the writer.

There is another fragment, apparently from the close of the same account, viz.:—

]γ . αποπ . . αυτου πετε[
]παιδαρις εις ζ σφήνας β φαμ[
]σφήνας β /α εξηριθμημεθα συνπα[ντα
]ροε οις γινονται οι προγεγραμμεν[οι
 χρη]ματισθεντος δε αυτοις και εις εκαστον σφήνα παρ[
 συνακολουθειτω δε τις παρα σου τη ομ[
 ου επιδ . ν . . τι αυτοις διδο[
 στομωματ[

[7]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, ARCHITECT, 255-4 B.C.

(3)

FRAGMENT ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

[Autotyped.]

B 28 and 29

χαιρει]ν Απολλωνιος ο διοικητης συνετα [ξεν . .

Αρ]σινοειτηι νομωι εργ[.]ουκ εστιν οι . . .

ημ]ιν διδοναι τον σιδηρον ως και φερεται εξαλε

]ογλεαντο ως αυτοις εδοκει προς επι του

]και ελθοντων ημων επι τα εργα συνετρι

5

βομεθα . .]ωνισαμενοι αργυριον κατακεχημεθα εις τα

]φ . ες οπως αν τα εργα συντεληται

] . ε του ειληφαμεν δε του ακαθαρτου και το

]εως? ειναι το διαφορον παρα τας δι- δυο οβολοι

]χρειαν γαρ εχομεν τρις της ημερας και περι

10

]εθα ε ινα ελωμεν εις τα εργα σιδηρον αγορασαι

ευτυχει

I have put two fragments next which had not been read by Mr. Sayce. The subject is still the supply of iron for quarrymen, though the text is mutilated and obscure. Lines 8 *sqq.* commence the second fragment, but the similarity of the papyrus of the writing, and the appearance of the tails of the ρ and γ of *εργα* (line 7) above line 8, have decided me to place them together.

It is most unlikely that the Apollonios here mentioned is the *εργοδιωκτης* of the former letters, for the official called *διοικητης*, steward, appears as an important personage frequently in the correspondence. There are several points of difficulty in the reading, especially in ll. 4, 6, 7 (where we expect *συντελεσθηι*), and 11.

Wherever I am not quite sure of the reading I have merely set down the vestiges which appeared to me as carefully as possible. L. 9 seems to begin with *εως*, but I am doubtful about it: we should expect *ωστε*.

[8]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, ARCHITECT. 255-4 B.C.

FRAGMENTS.

(4)

J 133

Κλεα]ρχος Κλεωνι χαιρειν υπογεγραφα σοι της παρα Περ[εχωντος
του υπαρ]χιτεκτονος επιστολης ταντιγραφα προς διος ουν και[
]σμου? δια την υ .ετεραν αψιμα[χ]ιαν επ . εν εγκλημαιοσιν γ[
ερρωσο L[

Here is perhaps a fragment of the Subscript—

J 134

]πρ[]ο παρα σοι εργα αποδ[]ε[]σφι 5
]απο δε Φιλαδελφειας εως Παπωνθιος πασιν εγ[
]ημεραν καλως αν ουν ποιησαις ποιων τα προσο[
τ]ων εργα]ν [ε]φ ων ημας καταλειπει Απολλωνιος ο διοικητης ο
]ων υπαρ]χιτεκτονος ακουνης και παθι τι των εργα]ν τ[
]τον εγκεφαλον σου ηξει 10

These fragments tell us but little, unless it may be that this Apollonios cannot be the person already mentioned, for the διοικητης was a state officer over a district, with his chief in Alexandria, in which case εργοδιωκτης would be either colloquial or disrespectful. The last words point to a strong expression, but a very odd one in this connexion. The handwriting and papyrus of both fragments are indubitably the same. The handwriting is large and clear, but is broken by many fractures (especially l. 3), and is cut at the edges with a sharp knife.

(5)

[Autotyped.]

A 8

εργαζομαι εν τανει ταλ . . . α εργα [The letters cut off at the top.]
μηπω σε ειληφεναι αργυριον ει ουν σοι δοκει γραψαι ημιν δουναι ταργυριον οπως αν δοθι
τοις θ λατομοις και τον σιδηρον δε οπως αν δοθι αυτοις αναγιγοχοδ αυτοις προσ . .
οπως αν ικονογραφωσιν ευτυχει

Is on the same subject. The second scrap is placed under the first, on account of the length of the line. The end of the third line has resisted my efforts, but ought to be deciphered. ικονογραφειω means either to describe by figure, or to make an image, probably the former here, but I cannot suggest the sense.

FLINDERS PATRIE PAPYRI, PART II.

B [9]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, ARCHITECT, 255-4 B.C.

(6)

COMPLAINT FROM DEMETRIOS.

[Autotyped.]

G 108

Δημητριος Κλεωνι χαιρ[ε]ιν κῆ καταβαντος
 μου επι τα εργα και επιλαβομενου Δατομιδος ουσαν
 Ψενχωνσιος παι[δα]ν υπο Πρωταρχου και των
 αδελ[φ]ων αυτων[.]ν δεκαταρχω[ν]
 και τω[ν α]ρχοντω[ν]ωι δια τα εργα 5
 τα ενηστηκοτ[α]ωι καταβας
 δε ο αδελφος αυ προς θυρας Ωρ[ος . . .]και Ετιων
 εξ Αρσινοειδος δι ημερων ἑ συνεντες εν υποζυ-
 γιω αρτων βουλομενου εμου επιδιελει εκαστωι
 αρτους ξ̄ δια το μη ειναι αρτους εν τη κοιτη 10
 και Δατομιδα διακεκοφεν ^{ου}στε εμφανας
 εξεβιασατο μη και τας χερας προσενηκεν εως
 Περμψαιο και οι πρεσβυτεροι οι παρεστεκοτες δι-
 ελυσαν ει ουν περι τουτων επιστροφην μη ποιησει
 οι τε λοιποι μοι τας χερας προσοισωσιν δι γαρ εστιν 15
 εν οχλωι ατιμαζεσθαι εαν γαρ ειδωσιν
 οττι ουτοι καταπεφρονηκασιν ουθεν των εργαων
 συντελεθησεται ^{ου} erasure of και ατελε[ς] ?
 ερρωσο Lλ χιαχ ā

A complaint from an official called Demetrios to Kleon, that upon going down to the works, accompanied by a girl (?) called Datomis (Mr. Sayce reads Astomis), for the purpose of distributing bread, which had run short in the store (κοιτη), both he and Datomis were hustled, and only saved from violence by the interference of the older men who stood by. "If, then, you don't take notice of this, I shall presently be personally assaulted, for it is a dreadful thing (δινον) to be insulted before a crowd, and if the rest see that these have despised me, none of the work will be completed."

This is one of the few cases which show, not only by the very slovenly writing, but by the many blunders, that we have before us the autograph of an ignorant man. In l. 2 επιλαβ. is apparently followed by a false case. In l. 8 συνεντες seems to be wrong, and in l. 9 επιδιελει appears to be the infin., thus showing a corruption which has become a normal form in modern Greek. The verb which Herodotus uses only in the middle appears with its sense of distributing in Polybius. κοιτη (l. 10), in the sense of a chest or store, is unusual, κοιτις being used. διακεκοφεν is a perfect not elsewhere found, and seems to mean less than we should expect, for it does not signify positive assault. εμφανας is probably a blunder for εμφανες, used as an adverb, προσενηκεν is a mistake for προσηνεγκεν. So παρεστεκοτες, ειδωσιν (for ιδ.), and the frequent corrections introduced show the nature of the orthography. δινον (δεινον) and χιαχ (χοιαχ) go to prove that some of the modern Greek pronunciation reaches back to this period.

[10]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, ARCHITECT, 255-4 B.C.

(7)

COMPLAINT FROM DEMETRIOS.

[Autotyped.]

B 27.

Κλεωνι χαιριν Δημητριος και προτερον μεν σοι γ[ε]γραφα
 περι της απαγωγης περι ης νυνι απηγμαι οιδα[ς] και συ ο[τι]
 και επει τ[ω]ν εργαων τεθλιμμενοι ημεθα και νυν [π]α[ν]τε[λ]
 ως τεθλιμμαι απηγμενος εις το δεσμωτηριο[ν . .] πολλ[α]
 . . . νο . . . ση διανοιαι ως αυτον παιδα εξαγαγων με εκ του
 δεσμωτηριου ου? γαρ μη βλαβης ουθεν πολλων γαρ ειμι
 εκδη[. . .]εν τωι δεσμωτηριωι ευτυχι

I suspect this letter to be from the same Demetrios to Kleon, and that his difficulties with the workmen had culminated in his being cast into prison. He begs Kleon, not for the first time, to have him released. We have two or three more petitions of the kind (printed in the sequel), which go to prove that there was no *Habeas Corpus* Act in the Constitution, and that prisoners might languish for an indefinite time in jail. The sense of the concluding lines will probably be yet restored by good reading based on happy conjecture. Much of this decipherment varies from Mr. Sayce's, and is very doubtful. The hand is so sprawling, that I may have set too many dots for missing letters. It reminds us of the writing of the oath of Artemisia (cf. Part I., p. 52).

(8)

FROM PHILOXENOS.

B 36

Φιλοξ[εν]ος και ο[ι] λ[ο]ιποι νεα[ν]ιαι?
 χαιρειν οι ρμ λατομο[ι]
 ουδενι τροπωι εργαζονται δια το μ[η]
 οντα το γαρ προδοθεν αυτοις δομ[η]
 ημιν καταβεβρωκεναι σχολαζον[ται]
 παραδεικνυοντος εργα δοκιμα[ς]
 εχειν προεσθαι σε αυτοις εκ τους
 τον πυρ * α οπως τα [
 και μη παρα ταυτην την αιτη[σιν]?
 του διοικητου σπενδοντος [
 παρα παντα γαρ τους λατομους
 τοις εργοις

ερρωσο

A report from Philoxenos, most probably, from the writing, and the company in which the fragment was found, to the same Kleon. It states that the 140 quarrymen in question were idle, owing to some defective supply. The ends of the lines are, however, lost, and the sense hardly recoverable in any detail. In l. 8 we have apparently "of wheat artaba 1." The sign for artaba is marked by a star.

[11]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, ARCHITECT, 255-4 B.C.

(9)

FROM QUARRYMEN IN PASTON.

[Autotyped.]

M 163

[Κλέ]ωνι χαιρειν οι λατομοι οι εν Παστωντι
 [ερ]γαζομενοι εγασυρε α παρελαβομεν π[αρ]α σου
 και
 τας πετρας εν τιτνουει λελατομητ[α]ι ηδη
 νυνι δε αργουμεν δια το μη εχειν σωμ[α]τα
 ωστε ανακαθαραι την αμμον την επανω
 λουπηρ θωνθ ι
 της πε[τρ]ας? [α]πο μηνο εφειπ εως (της σημει)
 δε
 (ρον ημερας) της ημερας με ειργασμενοι εισιν
 δε[. . .]ιδι διμηνωι οιδας δε διοτι [ο] τοπος
 εστιν
 ερημος και ουκ εχομεν σιτον βουλομενων
 συντελεσαι τα εργα ινα την ταχιστην
 απελθωμεν αποστειλον δε αιτ . . γους ημιν
 και ημεις
 εμ ταχει ινα μη ενκαταλιπωμεν ευτυχει
 Λλ θωνθ θ

On the back is—

Κλεωνι Λλ θωνθ θ παρα των [] . . . []
 εντευξισ

and apparently a rude map.

This very bad writing, on very dark papyrus, studded with gaps, has given both Mr. Sayce and me great trouble. I have found another closely similar piece (reproduced over the text), evidently cut with the same instrument at the same time, for the curved edges correspond exactly. It was therefore another layer of the same board, as already explained above, p. [1.] This upper text reads as follows:—

. τυχωμεν αναμετρησας ημιν ωι
 πετρα[. ι]να επανατε[. . .]ει τους (πους ?)
 και πασιν ανατεθην

The text is a letter very similar to (7), from quarrymen in Paston—wherever that was—to Kleon. The writing is very bad, and, moreover, inaccurate, but we may, nevertheless, hope that it will all be yet explained. I have added a good deal to Mr. Sayce's decipherment, but many points still remain for the ingenuity of other scholars. The sense, so far as I have determined it, is as follows:—"The workmen at Paston to Kleon, greeting. We have received from you the rocks in T., and they are already quarried out, but now we are idle for want of slaves to clear the sand, which covers the remainder of the — from the month Epeiph (miswritten Epheip) to the present day (10th of Thoth written over)." The next clause I cannot read; the word διμηνωι agrees with the real interval between the two months, which are separated by Mesore. "But you know that the place is desert, and we have no corn, though desirous of completing

[12]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON. ARCHITECT, 255 4 B.C.

the task, in order that we may leave as soon as possible. But send us ——— quickly, in order that we too may not fail. Farewell, year 30, Thoth the 9th."

On the back "To Kleon," and further on "Year 30, Thoth the 9th, from — a petition!"

Now I shall enumerate the difficulties. Whether there is an erasure or a mere blank in l. 2 is not certain. L. 3: the place where the stone was seems to be *Titnoues*, which may mean the rock-bed of a canal (Petrie). *Δελατομνηται* seems to have been intended, but the singular written instead. *σωματα*, as Mr. Sayce pointed out long ago, means slaves (cf. above (2)). L. 6: *λοιπη* is written over the line, a word is lost, and then follows a blundering *απο μηνος επιφ εως*, if my conjecture be correct. It is remarkable that our *bracket* is used (other cases will occur) and repeated round the following words, to signify that they are equivalent to the *θωυθ* above the line. This is one day later than the date of the letter, which was therefore probably written the evening of the 9th. L. 7: the two letters before *ειργασμενοι* I cannot explain, unless they be figures = 45. L. 8: a word is still to be conjectured, and there are traces enough to do it; and over *οιδας* is a minute *επι*, with three letters following, which I commend to the decipherers as well as the mark over the *λ* in *συντελεισαι* (l. 10) which seems needless. I do the same with the mysterious blurred word in l. 11, which must end in *ους*, and is the object of *αποστειλον*. This word, on which the sense turns, has puzzled both of us. We should expect *εγμετρητας* (judging from XXVI., Part I.), but that will not fit into the space, or to the vestiges of the letters. Is it *αιτουμενους* or *σιταγωγους*? It seems to me that *ενκαταλιπωμεν* is used intransitively, which is unusual; but I am very doubtful about the sense. I can find no object for the verb.

The substance of the address on the back is plain, though some word like *λατομων* is lost. We should certainly (as Mr. Sayce did) read the date *La* (not *λ*) did we not know that the whole of these papers of Kleon's date from the 30th and 31st years of Ptolemy II. To assume a gap of nine years, and bring this document down to the first year of his successor, seems a greater violation of probability than to credit the writer with the ordinary confusion in form between *A* and *Λ*. But for some holes and rents in the papyrus, the document would be complete. The brackets, almost effaced in the autotype, are quite clear in the original.

(10)

LETTER FROM NIKERATOS.

A I

νικ]ηρατος Κλεωνι χαιρεω το προς νοτον
[το]ν οχυρωματος τειχος μερος μεν τι αυτου
πεπτωκος εστιν το δε π[.]λ? ουπον φερεται ωσ
τε κινδυνευει πεσοντος [αυ]του διαφωνησαι
τι των σωματος καλως ουν ποιησεις την
απεγδοσιν αυτου ποι[η]σαμενος και δους Διονυ
σι[ωι]

On the back:

Λλ αθυρ ιη
]ο παρα νικηρατου ΚΛΕΩΝΙ.

[13]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, ARCHITECT, 255-4 B.C.

(11)

LETTER FROM ALEXANDER.

[Autotyped.]

ZZ I

Αλεξανδρος Κλεωνι χαιρειν της εξαγωγου της φερουσης εκ Τεβετνον
 και Σαμαρειας εις Κερκεησιν ην εσκαψαμεν περυσι εγκαταλειμμα γεγονεν
 καλως ουν ποιησεις συνταξας υπολογησαι εις τα αλικά τοις εκ Κερκεησιος
 λαοις ΖΣ ων αωιλια μετρησουσιν εις Ξ των ΔΖ ινα συντελεσθι και η γη μη κα-
 ταβροχος γινηται αποστειλον δ ημιν και ξυλα τα λοιπα των Σ οτι ευμηκεστατα και
 παχυντατα ιν εχωμεν εις διατοναια ταις γεφυραις τουτοις γαρ κατακωλυομεθα ωσ-
 αυτως δε και σχοινια Ρ εαν δε υπαρχηι πλεω Σ

ερρωσο Λλα παννι ις

This large and well-written document was found by Mr. Petrie in the fragment of a coffin he had in his house, long after he had dismembered the rest, and was sent to me along with the other papers now marked zz. But though the reading of the text is easy, and seems certain, there are unsolved problems which I shall propose to the reader. The proceeding referred to is (I am told) exactly what would be done now in India by local authorities in similar cases. The cost of exceptional repairs to secure a water supply is put on the salt tax, but even Indian officials have failed to explain the rest of the proposed plan.

Here is the general sense: "In the conduit which we dug last year from Tebetnon and Samaria to Kerkeésis a silting up has taken place. You will therefore do well to direct a charge of 200 drachmæ to be put upon the salt tax of the people of Kerkeésis in order that the work may be finished, and the land not become saturated. Send us also the remaining 200 beams as long and thick as possible, that we may have them as the stretching beams for our bridges, for want of which our work is stopped; likewise, too, 100 ropes, but if you have plenty, 200."

Palæographically, the lapidary Σ is very interesting, as it shows this ancient form was still used as a numeral (200) when it had disappeared from use as an ordinary letter. Wilcken (*Observ.*, p. 50), finding this form (for 6 P) in much later papyri, did not think it represented the old lapidary Σ, but rather a new invention for clearness' sake. I think he may now see cause to modify his opinion. I have found other specimens of it with rounded angles (almost ξ) in accounts of the period. The village of Samaria was a settlement of Jews, which Josephus mentions (cf. Part. I., p. 43). We now come to the difficulties. I think the point about the salt tax is pretty certain. υπολογησαι means to take account of, by putting into this tax. The first word must be λαοις, an ancient and poetical form for people found both in the LXX and in Papyri (Lumbroso, *Econ. pol.*, p. 245): cf. λαοκριται, judges of natives (Lumb., p. 257). Ων is the relative; and then follows αωιλια, for which I can offer no interpretation. "They will measure 60 for every 4 drachmæ" are the next words, but what is the sense? In another text I have found both difficulties again. It is the fragment of an account, and runs thus:

εις το αυτο αωιλια βωπδ
 εις ξ των δΖ ρηβ

[14]

IV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, ARCHITECT, 255-4 B.C.

(12)

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER.

ZZ 3

ολμωυς Κλεωνι
 χαιρειν εξελαβον
 το εργον το ενολνι
 σ μοι και λαβοντος
 το συμβολον παρα 6
 σου συνγραψαντ . .
 η των τι . συν γινομ ?
 ων ενδεκα μ[σ]υμ
 β[ο]λον παρ[
 τιος ουν εαν τιμ 10
 αντιγρ[αφομ]ενοις ?
 κωλυσαι ημιν δε . . .
 ρυνως βολον αν αυ
 ξομενον το χωμα
 γεγραφαμεν σοι 15
 μη αιτιας με

This narrow column is very much effaced, but is a fair specimen of the writing on long and narrow strips frequently found among these papers. As yet I cannot pretend to have read it. Similar fragments will however be given below.

(13)

FRAGMENT OF A LETTER.

[Autotyped.]

ZZ 2

χ]αιρειν εγραψα σοι της προς Τιμοξενον επιστολης τα αντιγραφα
]ει γενεσθαι ε[ν] τη διωρυγι τη απο ψεονια . . εφρεωσας ουσηι επι
]υν και τον ιβιωνα ? οπως και συ ενταθης τ[ωι] Τιμοξενωι χορηγειν
]παραντου χ . . ωτην ? οι γαρ καιροι παλαι[οι]] ους ? αυτα συν
]συν εχομ . ζουσινι ινδα τα εν τοις τοπ[]τιν ειπε νωιν
]τυσσιν . ει τουτων ει δε μη ετι και νυ[ν καλως] ποιησεις
 επει] ημων γραφοντων ουχ υπακουει
 ερρωσο Λλα τυβι ζ̄

This is clearly one of the same collection, and almost certainly addressed to Kleon. It is too much shattered to be intelligible, until we perchance find some of the remainder. For further correspondence with Kleon cf. below XIII.

[15]

B 32

(b)

ZZ 14

(c)

B 33 *In another hand, but very similar, and on same papyrus—*

These fragments, of which the upper two were only put together after long consideration, seeing that they came from different coffins, and were sent to me at different times, are all interesting as undoubted specimens of the handwriting towards the end of Ptolemy II.'s reign, viz. before 250 B.C. The writing of this generation is now better known to us than that of all the later centuries till the 4th A.D. The former (*a* and *b*) refer to the appointment and supplies of some guards sent to watch the boundaries of the nome. The latter mentions prisoners handed over to the writer by Apollonios the administrator (*διοικητην*), for whom more room is required. But the dates are quite clear even to the month, though in the second we have lost the day of the month. In the third fragment we have the whole length of the line, as the date is crammed in at the end of the last line. This is not so in the first and second fragments where the ends of the lines are lost. *Αναχωρωσιν*, (*a*) l. 5, is clearly a mistake, and indeed the *η* is written over a blotch, but the second *ω* is actually there. In (*c*) l. 3 *ια* are erased and *εϛ* written after them. Cf. Part I., XXIV. (3), for the same hand, date and quality of papyrus.

VI.

CORRESPONDENCE ABOUT KLEON'S DYKE.

LETTER FROM DIONYSIOS TO DOROS.

G 115 and B 39 fit together, viz.:—

G 115.

Διονυσιος Δωρωι χαιρειν απεσταλκα σοι του δοθεντος μοι υπομνηματος π[αρα Π]ετεχωνσι
 ος τα αντιγραφα ερρωσο Λλ̄ αθυρ δ̄ υπομνημα Διον[υσιω] παρα πετεχωνσιος του
 υπαρχιτεκτονος δει καταστησαι χωματοφυλακας δυο απο της ση ? . . .
 εως Ηφαιστιαδος ινα περιοδενωσιν δια παντος επισκεπομενοι μη[
 και συντελεσαι το λοιπον της Κλεωνος διωρυγος της διασχιζομενης[
 ινα ποτισωμεν την υφαμμον γην την κα[τ]α κεφαλην των κωμητων[] και αλλα
 . . αλι . . . τα δυ . σως των αλλ

On the back of G 115, upside down—

υπομνημα παρα πε
 τεχωνσιος γ̄
 Λλ[α]θυρ[

and to the right—

ΔΩΡΩΙ

B 39

μμον το υδωρ εις την δαγ[.]δ[]νιδεκατα
 ωσιν τα χωματα απο Βακχιαδος εως Παθωντιος και
 πε]ριπατωι? της Πατροκλεους δει δε και οχετον παρ
 υδωρ εις την λιμνην και μη επικωλυηται 10
 φρυγανισαι ετι πλ Α επανω του παραφρυγανισμου
 επι τα τεναγη και διομβρηση τα χωματα γεγραφα ουν σοι
 †
 στ απαγων ινα εχωμεν βοηθειαν εαν τι γενηται
 ερρωσο Λλ̄ αθυρ δ̄

From these fragments we learn that Kleon's sub-architect, evidently the active man, was an Egyptian, and also the antiquity of the *watchers of the dykes*.^{*} The banks of the canals were raised by piling brushwood, bound, I suppose, with clay. παραφρυγανισμος is the natural word for this work, but is unknown to the Lexica. "To water the desert soil (l. 6), which is [measured out?] man for man to the villagers": is this the sense? In l. 7 the mutilated word is *not* διωρυγα. πε]ριπατωι (l. 9) is very doubtful. So is the word in the middle of l. 13. It must be remembered that the writer's α and η are so like as to be often undistinguishable, so that it may be πητων. There are here four officials concerned—Kleon, the architect of the nome, Doros, Dionysios, and Petechonsis. The duties of the intermediate two are not stated. διομβρειω, to soak through, refers to a serious danger in these dykes. The general sense may be compared with that of iv. (4), p. [9] and iv. (11), p. [14]. The first word (αγειν?) remaining in l. 7 seems to have been erased.

* Mr. Petrie writes: "Thousands of Fellahs are even now levied yearly (regardless of *corvée* laws) during the inundation to watch the dykes; 500 are on the dyke of the Fayyûm day and night, as the safety of the province depends upon it. They relieve one another every week during the months of high Nile. They not only watch accidents, but act as a fighting force to prevent the Nile folks cutting the main dyke, to drain their land earlier for sowing."

VII.

FRAGMENT DATED 249 B.C.

REPORT FROM VILLAGE-OFFICERS.

[Autotyped.]

ο 5 η

βασιλενοντος Πτολεμαιου
 του Πτολεμαιου Σωτηρος
 Ελζ χοιαχ ι ατοσχαμιων ?
 παρα Πτολεμαιου ρων
 περι [των ?] ερυμων τοπων 6
 και Πετεσουχου κωμογρ και
 εκ του γ [μηνος] παννι εως
 χοιαχ λ
 πεδ . . τιμ . συ
 παννουβιος σοκνουχιος 10
 εκτιμησης αρακ εις * γβ
 και ονωφρις αδεαφοστης
 αυτης μ αρακου εις
 /του πα ιου αρακ εις *ς νβς/ιε
 της περι βασωχαν ? 15
 πασις στοτοσητιως ε/αρακ
 του αδιοικ[
 πασις φανησιος αρακ α
 ωρος ε . . ρυταιου αρακ α

There are two more lines of similar scraps, and on the back a quantity of very small cursive writing, beginning]αρετας της παρα σιμωνος ουν σοι [] αν επιστολης απεσ[ταλκα.

This is one of a group of fragments (comprising viii.) on very brown papyrus, in a difficult hand and in parallel columns, which I have put here on account of the very plain date at the head of the present document. The proper transcription of it is, furthermore, impossible, on account of the various *sigles*, which the reader may be able to explain better than I can. The substance of it is clearly an account. The abbreviation *αρακ*, which occurs several times, was found also by Wessely in late papyri, and is the *αρακος* of Theophrastus, a vegetable. As Mr. Sayce pointed out, the local officer, or *κωμογραμματευς*, is an Egyptian, as might be expected, for he had to keep a record of the population of his village.

Some Egyptian names commencing the next column are visible at the right margin.

[18]

VIII.

FRAGMENTS ON THE LAND QUESTION.

(1)

ROYAL RESCRIPTS ABOUT FARMS.

R I AND Q 4 II (*Recto*)

COL. A.

]μου εκ του βασιλικου η αλλως πῶς
μ]ηθена αργυριον λαμβανειν
εσται

δε παραλαμ

δε τας επ ς ειτων
παταους? ει δε τινε[ς
σιν εν τοις ενπροσθεν χρονοις κομιτε[ιν
περ ειλη νομωι? τωι?
L ιε

. ξαντος

10

σεχοντ [. . .] ιππεων θει . .
ον τιθεναι
εσθαι [αρ]γυριον επι τους . α
νη εαν δε τινες επιδανει
νται πριταγιν?
L ι υπερβερει[αιου]

15

COL. B.

βασιλευντο[ς πτ]ολεμαιου τ[ου πτολεμαι]ου
σωτηρος L ια μηνος διου

των σταθμων και των περιβολων τα . . . εις
οι]κητους επισταθμους εχειν οια δε ημε . . ς?
τους κυριους εαν δε τις αποβιασηται αποτε[ι-
σατω ο αποβιασαμενος του οικηματος εκασ-
του του μηνος ΕΛ του δε περιβολ[ο]ν ΕΞ

βασιλευς Πτολεμαιος Λυκομειδη χαιρειν
των τους κληρους αφειρημενων ιππεων
οι σταθμοι περιεστωσαν τωι βασιλει εαν
μη τισιν ημεις επ ονοματος επιστειλωμεν
δ[ιδ]οναι ερρωσο L κδ Αρτεμισιου κς

COL. A.—This part is so effaced and broken that there is as yet little to be said about it, and even so there is a matter of great interest. The date at the foot is, indeed, not perfectly certain as to the year—the ι has (possibly?) a letter after it—but the month following it is the solitary instance in the whole mass of these fragments where I have found this last of the Macedonian months, Hyperberetæus. I have conjectured that it corresponded with the month of the second or highest inundation (our October), the Phaophi of the Egyptians, and was therefore such a month of holiday that in it little legal or official business was transacted.

COL. B.—Here the date seems to be year 11, though I warn the reader that A and Δ are so similar as to make 14 equally possible. The sense is plain. It concerns the homesteads and surrounding gardens given to the settlers in the Fayyûm. If wrongfully or violently occupied, the displaced owner was to receive for each such house 30 E per month; for each surrounding land or garden 60 E. I suppose the *sigle* to mean drachmæ, but it is not familiar to me. The second part of this column is on the same subject. "King Ptolemy to Lycomedes, greeting. Let the homesteads of the cavalry soldiers who have been deprived of (should be αφηρημενων) their land-lots remain Crown property, unless we direct you to hand it over to certain persons distinctly named. Farewell, year 24, Artemisios 26th."

This may be the citation, several years later, of an old decree, for the dates on the same sheet seem to point to the earliest year of Ptolemy III. It is one of the few texts of a royal *προσταγμα* preserved completely. Cf. below the analogous text (3).

[19]

VIII.

FRAGMENTS ON THE LAND QUESTION.

(2)

REPORTS FROM ASSIZE JUDGES, 246 B.C.

R I AND Q 4 II (Verso)

(a)

π]ετενοτριου
βια[σ?]αμενος γαρ υμε
ν τωι σταθμωι . . .
προσ]ταγμα ουτε κ[]τα
δοσιν του πατρος
δ]εομαι ονν σου β[ασιλευν ?
απεσ]ταλμενοις
π δειγματα οια
α]νακαλεσαμενον
περι τουτων ινα ?
τ]ου μεν παρεληλυθotos
το ενοικιον περι δε
διαγνονναι και απε
ετωι εις βα[σιλευα ?
]. ων σωτήρηα

πα]ννι

(b)

υπομνημα Νικοκλει
χρηματισταις παρα φαμητος του
πετενοτριος περι της εντευξεως
ης ενεβαλεν ? κατα [Δη]μητριου του ?
παρα φανιου περι τη[ς] υσ . στο . . .
εναποβιαζετο με δ σδ . . [6
την εντευξιν αυτωι δ υρ
μων υπηκ[ουσεν ουδ ε]κελευσεν εις ?
Αλεξανδρειαν κ ι ω ι . αναπ . . κυρ
τετακται αυτων ειναι 10
εμ ε εκαι η αυτου
δηκειει εις ηρακλεους πολιν
δεομαι ονν [υμ]ω[ν] κυρωσαι ?
κερ και
εφ υμας καταπεφευγως ουτως 15
δικαιου τετευχως Lβ αθυρ [κδ ?

(c)

δοντων δε ημων το υπομνημα παρα φανιου ?
φανωι ? αποστειλαι ημων νου
δ αυτου και ου δυναμενων ημων ?
]θηκεν αυτωι παρεδοθη ημιν ο σταθμ[ος
και ουθεις ενωικεισται εν τωι σταθμωι απε 6
κειν[ου . . .]ημεις ? Δημητριος δε εξεργα[
του μη γνωσιν ειστεθ[η]ναι αλλ επ αυτων
διαλυθηναι Lβ ? χοιαχ κ
τ[ι]μημα ? . . . νοτριος [ρα]βδοφορου πυργος
διωρυφος [στα]θμου[χου]]τα επιγεια 10
μελανθιωι πετοβαστιος ραβδοφορου πυρ[γος
διωρυφος αυλη προσθεμα οικημα εστιν
σταθμουχωι το προσθεμα

COL. (a).—The words “I make request of you,” in l. 6, determine the general sense, which is a petition about a homestead. Ll. 9 and 10 have many parallels in these papers: “I request you, having summoned X, and having inquired about these things, in order to ascertain the facts,” &c. ενοικιον, l. 12, probably means *house-rent*.

COL. (b) is a minute to Nicocles [and the other] assize judges (χρηματισται) from Phanes, the son of Petenotris, about the petition laid against Demetrios. The details of Demetrios' violence may yet be deciphered or guessed from the blurred remains. The usual formula of the suppliant appears at the end, who says that, having taken refuge in them, so only can he secure justice. The date is apparently year 2, for the downward stroke after the β I take to be a mere blur of some foreign substance, probably of writing pasted on this.

COL. (c) appears to be the report of the judges upon the previous document. They have examined and taken possession of the σταθμος, which, at all events, is empty. The two notes which

VIII.

FRAGMENTS ON THE LAND QUESTION.

follow seem to refer to the same matter. We have *επιγεια*, ground-floor buildings (perhaps also in l. 11 the last word), opposed to *πυργος διωρυφος*, a tower of two stories, for which the ordinary Greek is *διωρυφος*. The second note reads: "To Melanthius, son of Petobastis, the Wand-bearer, (belong) a tower of two stories, a court, as appendage a hut on the ground (of one story?). The appendage belongs to the tenant."

(3)

ROYAL RESCRIPT ABOUT FARMS.

051 *Recto*.

Θεωνος αναγγειλαντος
 παρα Σωστρατου
 βασιλεια προσταξαι τους σταθμους [των] αφειρημενων
 η επι την γην επιλεγεμενων απο μη[νους] περιτιου
 του εν τω ις L μηθενα αιτει[σθ]αι μηδε παραλαμ- 5
 βανειν παρεν? [. οικονο?]μιαι εως αν ο βασιλευς π[ερι-
 τουτων επισκ[εψη] ειαν] δε τινες [κ?] τησωντ[αι
 η καταπαραχωρησαν [τες? ω?]σιν η αλλως πως οικονομη-
 σονται τροπωι ωι[τιν]ουν αι οικονομια[ι] αυτοις ακυρα[ι]
 εστωσαν και προσαπ[οτιν]ετωσαν τα εν[ο]ικια παντος 10
 του χρονου ου α[μ]φεπ[. . .]ισ[α]ν κατα το [του] βασιλεως
 προσταγμα

Here is a tattered fragment which has given me great trouble, but which contains an important text, practically complete. I must warn the reader that the number of dots inside each bracket marks the number of letters which seem to me lost, but that restorations of the text may show that I have either under- or over-estimated this number. It is often impossible to tell what an irregular hand will put into a given space.

Let us now analyze the text. ll. 1, 2 are plain: "Theon giving a report from Sostratos." Neither name is known to us among the officials of these papers. We proceed: "the king directs that [as regards] the homesteads of those deprived, or of those selected for the [colonizing of the?] land from the month Peritios in the 16th year, no one shall ask for them nor accept them [in addition to his?] farm until the Crown shall inquire into the case. But if any shall acquire them, or farm them under any plea whatsoever; their farming of them shall be unauthorized, and they shall, moreover, pay the rent for the whole time that they have [occupied?] them according to the king's decree." Cf. above VIII. (1), Col. B.

I suppose the missing syllables, which are lost by fracture of the papyrus, will all be yet restored. Mr. Sayce read l. 3 *αφειρημενων*. Who are the classes specified? The date which is preceded by a clear gap (not a loss of letters) points, I fancy, to the original settlement of the Fayyûm in the 16th year of Ptolemy II., and if so, is of great importance. If I have caught the sense, the order is to prevent colonists acquiring the grants of their neighbours, which they would naturally do under various excuses. But in ll. 6, 8, 11, there are gaps which I have not been able to supply with any certainty. May the reader be more fortunate! On the *verso* are fragments of two columns in the same writing and on the same subject, but too much broken to be intelligible in their details.

[21]

IX.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THEODOROS, 241-39 B.C.

(1)

ON PROTECTING THE DYKES.

EE I

ηδη και κατ . ι . . ε αλλο ε[ι γαρ
αλλο δρασεις συμβησεται σοι κινδυνευειν
[date effaced.]

Θεοδωρος Διοτιμωι χαιρειν καλως ποιησεις ευτονω
τερον γραψας Ανδροσθενει και τοις νομαρχαις
αποσπελλειν το εναρχι . ν απαντων των υποζυγιων? (οι αυτων?)
καθαπερ και παρος εποιησαν του γαρ ποταμου
προς παντα τα χωματα προσβαινοντ[ος τα π]αντα
οχ[υρωσ]αι δει αποσπελλειν δε και τα[

(2)

COMPLAINT OF QUARRYMEN.

[Autotyped.]

G 117 AND 113

Ερμογενης Θεωδωρωι χαιρειν υπ[ογεγραφ]α σοι της παρα Αρμαχορου επιστολης
το αντιγραφον καλως ουν εχει ει [θελεις α η]ιτηθησαν ευσυνθετησαι αυτοις
πλεονα γαρ χρονον ειργασμενων αυτω[ν εν] τοις χαλκωρυχιοις και ειληφοτων
ελπιδα εως λ του παχων ειργασ[μεν]ων α ειχον εν ταις χερσιν εργα
καθοτι συνεκριθη επι Λογβασεως [. . . λα . . λου] μετα[πορευ]εσθαι εις αλαβα[στι
θιδα δια την ανυδριαν των τοπων [τωνδ]ε και σου ηξιωκοτ[ος αυ]τον γραμματει[διον
προσσυπομειναι εως - του παννι [και ουκ] αντειποντος καλως (blank) εχειν υπο-
λαμβανω ον τροπον αυτοις παρωμ[ολογη]σαμεθα ποιησαι τους τε εγμε-
τηρητας αποσπειλαι το ταχος οπ[ως εγ]μετρηθεντος αυτοις του εργου
μη καθωνται τον πλειω χρονον

10

[ερρωσο] L[σ πανν]ι θ

On the back of 117 (upside down)—

Ls παννι ια Ερμογενηι

ν (sc. αντιγραφον) της παρα Αρμαχορου ε (sc. επιστολης)
[22]

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΙ

(3)

COMPLAINT OF QUARRYMEN.

G 114 *In the same hand*—

] εγραψας μοι μη αποσπασαι το [πληρωμα πριν τα εργα]
 συντελεσαι γινωσκε ουν τα τε εργα λειπ[ομενα και ου συντελεσεσθαι]
 δια το Θεοδωρον αξιωσαι με υπομειναι [περα του δικαιου, και οτι]
 διελεγην περι τους Πυραμου και Κροτωνος [ερ]
 γαζεται εως ου τα συντετελεσμενα [καλως ουν] 5
 ποιησαις αποστειλας τους εγμετρη[τας συνταξοντας]
 τι πραξωσιν ου γαρ αγνοεις οια εστιν τα [β]ελτατα πληρωματα εαν αργωσιν
 ετι δε οτι Μεγητος πληρωμα αναβεβηκεν και τα λοιπα τα ενταυθα ωστε μηθενα
 ειναι ενταυθα αλλ η ημας και το πληρωμα γογγυζει φαμενοι αδικεισθαι
 εν τω [. . . .] ηδη μηνας ι του τοδε πασχειν δια το μη παρειναι αυτοις τον τριηραρχον
 ερρωσο Lζ παυνη θ

Three of the fragments now combined as (2) and (3) were deciphered by Mr. Sayce, who did not, however, observe that two of them were only separated by a rent, and that the third is the document to which the former refer. A fourth I found since. They are dated 14 years after the group to Kleon, and perhaps the Theodoros here mentioned had taken his place. He seems to have been first architect, and then Oeconomus.

The correspondence refers to just complaints of a set of workmen, occupied in copper mines, who desire to be transferred for the rest of their task to the alabaster quarries, which are much lighter work. They appeal to a previous agreement, and Hermogenes thinks the Government ought to keep faith with them (*ευσυνθετησαι* is a Polybian word in this sense). Mr. Sayce has already pointed out that no copper mines are known in Egypt, the nearest being in the Sinaitic peninsula, whereas there is a great vein of alabaster near Cairo and one near Siout. Unfortunately there is no hint in the documents of the *locus* of either mine. The petition to be transferred from harder stone, and more desert country, to lighter work, and within reach of water, is analogous to others in the collection. I have been able to supply the gap caused by the rent down the middle of the document with tolerable success, except in (2) l. 5, where there are several difficulties. According to LXX use we should translate the first words "as has been *contended*," but what is *επι λογβασεως*? Comparing the construction of a similar passage in (1) *επι Διοτιμου*, I conclude it to be the proper name of a local arbitrator; cf. also Part I., pp. 47-8, 75, *ἐπ' Ασκληπιαδου, επι προεδρου Ιασονος*, all in the sense of *coram iudice*. The word following the gap is nearly effaced; and then there is a gap in the following verb which I have filled up as *μεταπορευσεσθαι*. *Αλαβα[στι]θιδα* is an almost certain restoration, for we have *αλαβαστίτις* in the *Lexica*, and the *θ* may very well be due to a dialectical variety. Interesting details follow; it was the rule to await a formal document to dismiss workmen from the mines, and this would produce a delay of 10 days (Pachon 30 to Payni 10). There were official surveyors, whose duty it was to measure the work done and report it complete before the workmen left. Both *πλεονα* and *πλειω* are used indifferently. *Βελτατα*, a rare form, actually occurs in Aeschylus.

[23]

(4)

COMPLAINT ABOUT IRRIGATION.

G 118 (*recto*) *In a great clear hand*—

Ερμαφίλος Θεοδω[ρωι χαιρειν απ]εσταλκ[α σοι το αν[τιγραφον του
 παρα Τεωτος τ[ωσ]περ ουν ε[τ]ηι διαγραφηι
 συντελεσθητω το εργον ινα μη υστερον επι του ποτισμου πρα
 γμα[τ erased]θ ημιν παρεχηι

(*verso*) *In a crabbed cursive hand*—

Λζ επειφ γ Ερμοφίλος α του παρα
 Τεωτος υπομνηματος οπως
 γενηται αυτοις το εργον

ερρωσο Λζ επειφ γ

ιαγχιρεως Ερμαφίλωι χαιρειν υπ
 Θεοδωρωι τωι αρχιτεκτονι
 ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΙ

These strips of papyrus are worth reproducing for the sake of the very large and fine hand of the document, as well as for the complete state of the endorsement, where we have again the abbreviation for *αντιγραφον*, and the date, which agrees with all the other correspondence of Theodoros. *ποτισμος*, the watering, is used in the version of Aquila, and refers, no doubt, to the official distribution of water from the great *διωρυξ*.

(5)

FRAGMENT.

G 116 (a) *A very rude hand (in two pieces which fit together)*—

υπομνε[μα] Θεοδωρωι παρα Πε-
 τουβαστ[ιος] και Πετεχοντο[s]

(b)
 καλως ποιησις εαν σοι φαινη-
 ται γραψας Θεοδωρωι τωι οικονο-
 μοι οπως δοι ημιν εις οργνας ρ
 το γεινομενον καταγαγειν
 επι το υποδοχιον καθοτι τι

On the back, in small cursive (upside down)—

Λη φαρμουθι κ̄
 υπομνημα παρα Πετο-
 βαστιος και Πετεχωντος
 υπετέθη Θεοδωρωι ν (= *αντιγραφον*)

In this very rude hand we have, the second official title of this Theodoros. He was now the *οικονομος*. The endorsement repeats the names of the writers, and tells us that this is only an official copy; but the matter of the document is not ascertainable from what remains. The spelling is bad, and in *υποδοχιον*, the *χ* is written across a *γ*.

It may be a request from two Egyptian peasants to save a part of their crop before the official tax-assessor had valued it standing. This sort of taxation has been the plague of eastern countries to the present day.

[24]

X.

CORRESPONDENCE OF PHAIES.

(1)

FROM THE ROYAL GOOSEHERDS.

E 75

Φαιηι οικονομωι παρα
 Παωτος του Πετεςου-
 χου και Ιναρωντος του
 Στοτοητιος βασιλικων
 χηνοβοσκων των εκ Φαρ-
 βαιθου, και Παωτος του
 Αρμαιος και Αμολεους του
 Πετοσιριος χηνοβοσκων
 βασιλικων των εκ Περ-
 σεας. Ισχυριας ο οικονομος 10
 επιπορευεται ημιν
 συντασσω διδομαι
 εις τα ξενια χηνας ιβ
 ημων ου δυναμενων
 αξι[ουμε]ν ουν σε επει 15

τ[ο ημυσυ] μερος επιβαλ
 λει ημιν των επιβαλλο-
 μενων χηνων εις τα
 ξενια τοις εν τωι νομωι
 χηνοβοσκοις δια το ειναι 20
 ημυσυ μεριδος αποστει-
 λαι ημων το υπομνημα
 εις το λογιστηριον επι-
 σκεψασθαι, και εαν ηι καθοτι
 γραφομεν αληθη, γενεσθαι 25
 ημιν κατα ταυτα, ινα
 δυναμεθα τα δικαγια ποιειν
 τωι βασιλει. ευτυχει

We have here a complaint from the Crown goose-herds, which is of great interest, and I think we can even determine the name of the scribe who wrote it from the subsequent document, which is similar in many characteristics. Here is the sense: "To Phaies, the administrator (steward), from Paos, the son of Petesouchos, and Inarous, the son of Stotoetis, royal goose-feeders from Pharbaitos; and from Paos, son of Armais and Amoleos, son of Petosiris, royal goose-feeders of the region of Persea. Ischurias, the administrator, comes to see us, and orders us to give him for his entertainment twelve geese, this being out of our power. We therefore think it right, since he puts half (?) the charge of the additional geese for his entertainment upon us, the goose-feeders in the nome, because this nome is half the division, that you should send our minute to the Treasury Office to be examined, and if it be truly as we write, that we should fare accordingly, in order that we may be able to do our duty to the king. Farewell." The date is not given, but is about 240 B.C.

As Mr. Sayce observed, the very office of Crown goose-herd was hitherto unknown, though we know of geese being attached to temples. The people who held it were Egyptians; but they appeal in good Greek to the *oekonomus*, a high officer, and certainly a Greek, though the name Phaies seems here also to occur for the first time. Both Pharbaitos and Persea occur elsewhere as villages in the Fayyûm. The demand of Ischurias—another new name, for the form Ischurion only is hitherto known—was evidently an extraordinary one, if it be indeed so for high officials to demand contributions of hospitality from the natives. We know that the priests of Philæ complained bitterly of similar burdens; and we see that the native goose-herds could only urge as a defence their inability to supply the king if such exactions were allowed. The point I have added here to Mr. Sayce's deciphering is in l. 16, where I read τ[ο ημυσυ] μ[ε]ρος, a word of at least five letters being lost which gave the fraction. A single horizontal line from the middle of this word, still visible, does not fit this restoration. But the word *ημυσυ* (cf. l. 21) would exactly fill the gap, and seems to suit the sense best. The *λογιστηριον* is interesting—an office to which requests were sent to be verified, and apparently only from the higher officers.

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI, PART II.

D [25]

X.

CORRESPONDENCE OF PHAIES.

(2)

AMMONIOS' LETTER FROM PRISON.

[Autotyped.]

E 74 *In a kindred hand—*

Φαιηι οικονομωι παρα Αμμωνι[ου]
 του γραμματευνοντος Φλυηι
 των περι Οξυρνηχα. παραγενομε-
 [ν]ου μου εις το λογιστηριον απο-
 [λ]ογισασθαι τηιδε κζ̄ ωρας 6
 πρωτης, οντος μου εν τωι
 λογιστηριωι παρεγενηθη
 υπηρετης παρα Καλλωνος
 καλων με θεις τα βυβλια εξηλθον
 και γενομενου μου προς τηι 10
 θυραι του στρατηγιου συνετα-
 ξεν ο υπηρετης απαγαγειν με,
 και νυν εν τωι εφημερευτηριωι
 ειμι ευτυχει

There are strong similarities between this and the last document, but still a closer survey detects sufficient variations to make us hesitate as to the identity of the writer. I think that the facts of his writing from prison and in a perturbed state of mind are enough to account for the differences, especially if he had not his own pen or reed. At all events the upper strokes of the writing which are quite horizontal in the other document are here all curved, viz. the π and the ρ. The ω is made with two strokes, and not with one. The document is complete and the sense plain. "To Phaies the œconomos, from Ammonios who acts as scribe in Phlye (or for Phlye) of the neighbourhood of Oxyrhynchos. When I went to the Treasury Office to render my account on this 26th [of the month], at the first hour [of the day], while I was in the office there came an apparitor from Kallon calling me. Putting down my books I went out, and when I had reached the door of the strategus' office, the apparitor gave directions to arrest me, and now I am in the day lock-up; farewell." Kallon must have been either *Strategos* or *Archiphylax*. Various forms from εφημερευω occur in Polybius and the LXX, but not this particular word. Most of them refer to daily service or ministration, so that the word, perhaps, means guardroom, where soldiers remain all day on duty. This writer's α and λ are so undistinguishable that Phaue, not Phlue, may be the name in l. 2. Into the merits of the case we have no means to enter.

[26]

(1)

[Autotyped.]

Πολυκράτης τῷ πατρὶ χαιρεῖν καλῶς ποιεῖς εἰ ἐρρωσάι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σοὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἐστὶν ἐρρω-
μεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς πολλακίς μὲν γεγραφεὰ σοὶ παραγενέσθαι καὶ συστήσαι με ὅπως τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ
παρόντος σχολῆς ἀπολυθῶ καὶ νῦν δὲ εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν καὶ μὴθην σὲ τῶν ἐργῶν κωλύει
πειραθῆτι ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ Ἀρσινόεια εἰ γὰρ σὺ παραγενῆτι πεπεισμαι ραϊδίως με τῷ βασιλεὶ
συσταθῆσεσθαι γινώσκει δὲ με ἔχοντα παρὰ Φιλωνίδου τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ μὲν ἡμῶν
εἰς τὰ δεόντα ὑπελιπομένην τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν εἰς τὸ δανεῖον κατεβαλὼν τούτῳ δὲ γίνεται
διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀβρῶν ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν λαμβάνειν γράφε δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ ἵνα εἰδῶ-
μεν ἐν οἷς εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀγωνιῶμεν ἐπιμελῶν δὲ καὶ σάντου ὅπως ὑγιαίνῃς καὶ πρὸς ἡ-
μᾶς ἐρρωμένος ἐλθῇς εὐτυχεῖ.

This perfect text, written in a beautifully clear and correct hand, was already published by Mr. Sayce in *Hermathena*, with other of the fragments here reproduced. But it seemed to me desirable to give it here, both for completeness' sake, and to afford the reader a specimen of this peculiarly fine handwriting. Here is the translation:—

"Polykrates to his father greeting. You do well if you are strong, and all else is to your satisfaction. We also are strong. Often have I written to you to come here and help (?) me in order that I may get rid of my present idleness; and now, if it be possible, and none of your work hinders you, do your best to come to the Arsinoeia (the nome of Arsinoe?). If you make your appearance I am persuaded I shall easily be recommended to the king. Know that I have got from Philonides 70 drachmæ; of this I have kept the half by me for necessaries, but the rest I have put out to interest. This happens because we do not receive it in a lump sum, but little by little. But write to us, that we may know what you are about, and we may not be anxious. Take care of yourself that you may have good health, and come to us strong."

The word ἐρρωμένος is very like our colloquial *fit*, used of health and spirits.

(2)

A 1 In the same handwriting—

Πολυκράτης τῷ πατρὶ χαιρεῖν [εἰ] ῥῶσαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ σοὶ κατὰ γνώμην ἐστὶν
καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ἐρρωμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ γινώσκει με τὴν ἱεροποιαν ὠικονομημέ
[νον] καὶ εἰς γεωμέτρων πορευομένον ἀπογεγραμμαι δὲ ἐπὶ τελωνίων τοι-
κοπεδὸν φερόμεν[ον] ἱζ σ ἵνα ἐκ τοσούτου φερωμεν τὴν εἰκοστήν καὶ
μη ὥς π[ερ] προτερο[ν] ἐκ τρια[ς] κοντα ἱ ἀναγγελλουσ[ι] δὲ ἡμῖν εἰκὴν Ἡρώδω?.. χι
..... ἐπεγνώκα δὲ γραμματα θελεῖ

From the same to the same as the last. Here the fractures in the papyrus leave ample room for conjectures, of which I have hazarded several. The son gives an account of his doings, all, I think, with reference to the taxing of their property. He has administered a sacred office or priesthood which probably gave him some immunity, and is going for instruction to the house of the public valuator or surveyor. He has his garden valued at 17½ drachmæ, instead of 30, upon which 5 per cent. is due to the State. The sequel is nearly all lost, but I think the end of 1. 5 ought yet to be deciphered as supplied from the vestiges.

[27]

(1)

FRAGMENTS ADDITIONAL TO XXVI., PART I.

Fr. 1.

Fr. 2.

Fr. 3 (XXVI., Part I.).

[28]

<p>Αγγνωρ Θεοδώρου χαιρεν της παρα Αφθον[ητο]ν γραφεισης μοι επιστολης υφ ην και [το παρα Ανδρονικου Αφθον]ητοι υπομν[ημα</p>	1
<p>οστο νν συσ . .</p>	2
<p>μωσ . . . τ ν νντ</p>	3
<p>τος κα τις αβθοντος .επει κλι</p>	4
<p>] as? των βω[μ]ων [π]ρος το μη επισταθμευεσθαι</p>	5
<p>ερρωσο Ls αρτεμισιον κβ</p>	6
<p>ι ι ν σ ιοι ι απ οιαι ε ασα ω . . η</p>	7
<p>7 . . .] γραφον ημιν</p>	8
<p>Αβθοντος του προσενεχθεντος υπομνηματος παρα Ανδρονικου απεσταλκα σοι το αντιγραφο[ν</p>	9
<p>επισκεψαμενος ονν ει εστιν ταυτα ουτως εχοντα συντελεσον κατα ταυτα Ls αρτεμισιον κ[</p>	10
<p>υπομνημα Αβθονητωι στρατηγωι παρα Ανδρονικου ευρισκομεν εν κροκοδιλων πολει π[</p>	11
<p>των οικων των προτερον επεσταθμευμενων καθειρηκοτας τας στεγας υπο των κυριων</p>	12
<p>ωσαντως δε και ενωικοδομηκοτας τας θυρας των οικων βωμους προσωικοδομηκασιν τουτο δε[</p>	13
<p>πεποιηκασιν προς το μη επισταθμευεσθαι ει ονν σοι δοκει .επει στενοχωρουμεν σταθμους</p>	14
<p>γραφον Αγγηγορι επαναγκατειν τους κυριους των οικων μεταθειναι τους βωμους επι</p>	15
<p>τους ευκαιροτατους τοπους και επιφανεστατους επι των δωματων και ανοικοδομησαι</p>	16
<p>βελτιους των προυπαρχοντων βωμων οπως αν εχωμεν αποδιδοναι εις τους νυν παρα</p>	17
<p>γνωμενους επιστατας των εργων</p>	18

[End of Fragment 3.]

verso :

On the back of this fragment, and behind this spot (below the lines of the recto text), there is—

Ls χωιαχ θ εκομισαμεν.

XII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF APHTHONETOS, 241 B.C.

FRAGMENTS ADDITIONAL TO XXVI., PART I.

This is the document the right side of which has been autotyped already in Part I., (XXVI.), and about which I expressed a hope that enough might yet be recovered to reconstruct the sense. My hopes have been realised, and the present text gives the passages since supplied from another group of scraps, by which a glimpse is obtained into a very peculiar arrangement in Crocodilopolis. I will give a translation first:—

[A.] “Agenor to Theodoros, greeting. Of the letter written to me by Aphthonetos, beneath which has been written the minute [from Andronikos to Aphthonetos], I send you a copy.” The rest of this letter is so mutilated that we can only tell that the subject of the altars, and the billets, to be mentioned presently, were discussed in four lines of text, ending: “Write to us. Good-bye. Year 6, Artemision 22.”

[B.] “I, Aphthonetos, have sent you a copy of the minute brought to me from Andronikos. When you have examined whether the case is so, settle the matter accordingly. Year 6, Artemision 2[3 ?]”

[c., the minute.] “Mem. to Aphthonetos the strategus, from Andronikos. We find in Crocodilopolis that [the occupiers?] of the houses formerly billeted in have taken down the upper story at the owner’s instigation, and in like manner have built up the doors of the houses [and] set the altars against them; but this have they done to avoid being billeted on. If then you approve, since we are short of billets, write to Agenor to compel the owners of the houses to remove the altars to the most convenient and conspicuous place on the houses, and to build them up better than the previous ones, in order that we may have room to give to the overseers of the works who have just arrived.” On the back of the new addition are, in minute writing, the words, $\Lambda\varsigma\ \chi\omicron\iota\alpha\chi\ \theta\ \epsilon\kappa\omicron\mu\iota\sigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$, viz. “We received this on the 9th Choiach, in the year 6.” And this, whatever other joint dates we compare, seems to imply an interval of several months, which is quite unusual. But Aphthonetos appears to have been a dilatory man.

As regards the translation I have given, I cannot be answerable for a blunder made by the writer in ll. 10, 11, which I cannot mend, whatever be the word, beginning with π , which is lost at the end of l. 10. There seems room for no more than $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\varsigma$ or $\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ could possibly have been there. The error lies (I think) in $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma$, which must be either $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, or $\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\varsigma$; but the former is more likely, seeing that the following part., $\epsilon\nu\omega\iota\kappa\omicron\delta\omicron\mu\eta\kappa\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma$, is active, though attracted by the previous blunder into the accusative. If the accusatives stand, we require a copulative particle before the main verb. As all the rest of the text is written with the correctness of a practical scribe, this blunder in construction is here quite remarkable. Fortunately it does not destroy, and cannot even obscure the general sense of the minute. To this I now turn.

This much seems to be quite certain. It was a privilege of the Crown to billet its officials—

[29]

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CORRESPONDENCE OF APHTHONETOS, 241 B.C.

civil at all events, and therefore probably also military—in certain houses of the city of the Crocodiles, when these officers came there on public business. This burden the inhabitants sought to evade, and did so by getting rid of the public mark or ensign denoting a house liable to billeting. The minute before us orders that this evasion shall be met by an order correcting it, and marking publicly what houses the Crown officials had a right to occupy. Now begin our difficulties. How can we understand $\beta\omega\mu\omicron\iota$ as a mark of this liability? For that it was only a liability, and not a complete possession, is proved by the mention of owners, who had ordered or undertaken an important change in these houses. I think we can meet this difficulty at all events by the Rosetta inscription, which orders expressly that shrines of the new king shall be set up on all the public buildings and temples through the land, and directs that (what I may call) the coat of arms of the new king, which is minutely described, shall be set up on these small shrines. It appears, therefore, that as mediæval sovereigns used a shield on which to emblazon their arms, so the Egyptians, who were very “heraldic” in their elaborate royal titles and escutcheons (cartouches), used a shrine, on which, as an ornament, were set the emblem of the new king. This being so, the houses under Crown liabilities were ornamented in this way, and it is ordered that they shall be thus ornamented again. But what had the owners done to evade their duty? Here the obscurity of the text does not let me offer a perfect solution. Mr. Petrie suggests that possibly only houses with two storeys and two doors were liable, so that by taking down the upper storey, and blocking a door, the liability was evaded. But to prevent the officials from knocking open the door again, the altar or shrine was set into it, the removal of which would be sacrilegious, unless another and better altar were set up in its stead, and in a more conspicuous place.

I will not conceal from the reader that this combination is not to be accepted, unless we are satisfied that the $\beta\omega\mu\omicron\iota$ of the present text are identical with the $\nu\alpha\omicron\iota$ of the Rosetta Inscription. The latter was a public and official document, and why should such a fixed and notable thing be called by two different names. The interval of time between the texts is indeed 45 years, and the interval in space considerable also, but we should hardly expect such a variation. But as neither word can have any very different interpretation, and as the present $\beta\omega\mu\omicron\iota$ were to be set up *on* a house, I think that my interpretation is not only possible, but very probable.

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(2)

A PETITION.

F E 3

Αφθονητωι σ[τρατηγωι
 παρα ανχ[. . .]ος ει[. . .
 δ[ι]εληλυθα [. . .] αιημ? [. . .
 ας ητησατο [ο α]ντιδι[κος
 μου πασις αρ[χ?]ωνσιος [περι
 την υπαρχουσαν μοι κ[ατ
 αυτου επι σου κρισιν
 αξιω σε δεομενη ανα[κα-
 λεσαμενον εμε τε και [τον
 αντιδικον επισκεψ[ασ-
 θαι περι ων εγκεκληκα [αυ-
 τωι ινα μη τον πλειω
 χρονον καταφθειρωμα[ι
 αλλα δια σε του δικαιο[υ
 τυχω ευτυ[χει

The date of this letter is during the *strategy* of Aphthonetus, and therefore about the 6th year of Ptolemy III. The name of the petitioner, a woman, is unfortunately lost, but the rest is almost complete. "To Aphthonetos the strategus. From Anch ——. I have gone through [all the inquiries] which my adversary Pasis demanded concerning the case which I have against him before you. I pray you urgently to summon me and my adversary, and to investigate the charges I have made against him, in order that I may be no longer injured, but through your means may receive justice. Farewell." A very thin strip of the text has been cut off down the right side, which can easily be supplied. The law's delays were then, as now, very vexatious to litigants.

(3)

A PETITION.

E E 2

Αφθονητωι στρατη-
 γωι παρα Φιλιππου
 και Πτολεμαιοι εισε-
 δωκαμεν σοι εντευξιν
 κατα Λυσανιου? περι 5
 ων ενεκαλουμεν αυτωι
 σου δε γραψαντος τωι
 επιστατη? παρα πε-
 [] . . . νην?
 ου[ν?] σε εισκαλεσασθαι 10
 ημας και επισκεψα-

μενον α δια της εντευ-
 ξεως αυτωι εγκεκλη-
 καμεν επαναγκασαι
 αυτον το δικαιον 15
 ημιν υποσχειν του-
 του γαρ γενομενου
 ου τον πλειω χρονον
 καταφθαρησομεθα αλλα
 δια σε της πασης φιλαν- 20
 [θρωπιας τευξομεθα]

I have joined two fragments of a narrow strip at ll. 12-13. I cannot vouch for the name of the defendant, which may be *Ναυσανιου* (l. 5). *επιστατη* (l. 8) is very uncertain, as only the feet [31]

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of the letters are preserved. In l. 21 only the tops are visible, but I feel hopeful that my restoration is correct. The document is all but complete, viz. "To A. the strategus from Philip and Ptolemy. We handed in to you a petition against Lysanias about the charges we have against him. But though you wrote to the epistatis [about it, nothing has yet been done]. We ask you, therefore, to summon us, and having inquired into our charges against him, to force him to do us justice. When this happens, we shall no longer be harried, and shall receive all kindness at your hands."

We seem, then, to have stumbled on the papers of Aphthonetus, and can even suspect him of having been a dilatory official. In l. 9 the word *αξιωμεν* must have occurred, but not at the end of the line. *εντευξίς εις το του βασιλεως ονομα* is, I think, a formula hitherto not known, but I have found it elsewhere in the fragments.

I will here call the reader's attention to the calm and businesslike nature of all these complaints. There is no abuse of the opponent; no violent language; nothing but a simple statement that the complainant has been wronged, and is suffering, and now demands redress.

With these were found several other small fragments in very similar writing, *e.g.*—

EE 4 Αφθονηται στρατ[ηγωι
 παρα Μενητος εμB[ουβαστωι ?
 εντευξιν εις το του βασιλε[ως
 ονομα κατ[α] Σοκομινιος
 αξιω ου[ν σε κ.τ.λ.]

(4)

DATED FRAGMENT.

ZZ 9 Κλεων διονυσιωι
 χαιρειν χρημα
 τους προς την πηλοποιαν
 της μ̂ Λιβ̂ εως αναμετρη-
 σεως μ̂ ΛΞ̂ εις δε τουτο
 υπολογησον ο προεχουσι δι-
 α φιλιππου του εν πτολεμαιδι
 οικονομου ενεργωι παρ ημων
 συμβολον μ̂ Λκδ̂
 ερρωσο Λλβ̂ παχωνος κη

The heading probably belongs to this dated fragment. It is certain from similar fragments (to be given further on) that these large figures μ (10,000) and μ (50,000) refer to sun-dried bricks, the price of which seems to have varied from 10 to 16 silver drachmæ per 1000. Here it is 12 drachmæ. I suppose a great deal could be bought for a silver drachme in Egypt; Mr. Petrie says palm leaves for baskets might go at 800 per dr. The text proceeds: "for this purpose take into account what they have already according to the ticket of Philippos the steward at Ptolemais, who is doing work with us here, [which amounts to] μ = 24 dr. υπολογεω (cf. above IV. (11), l. 3) has hitherto been suspected as a false form, though found in the MSS. of Aristotle and Theopompos.

[32]

XIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, 258-253 B.C.

After the earlier group of the correspondence of Kleon was in type, Mr. Petrie sent me another consignment of papyri, from which I gathered, after much sorting, and with many combinations of the stray pieces, the following additions, which are both numerous and important. They permit us to increase the duration of Kleon's tenure of office, which lasted at least from the 27th to the 32nd year of the 2nd Ptolemy. Though the handwritings of these correspondents vary considerably, there is a certain uniformity in them—still more in the papyrus on which they are written—so that I can frequently say with confidence, of many small fragments whose heading and date are lost, that they come from the same group. Fortunately a few are almost complete, and give us a curious view into the variety and importance of Kleon's duties. One, from the *decatarchs* of the quarrymen, shows that the dispute with Apollonios was not settled after several months delay. Other details will appear from the consideration of the several documents. From the letter of his son Philonides (XIII. (19), p. [45]), we may infer that Kleon was an old man who had seen long public service.

(1)

H' I

Κλεωνι χαιρειν οι δεκαταρχοι των ελευθερων
 λατομων αδικουμεθα τα γαρ ομολογηθεν
 τα υπο Απολλωνιου του διοικητου ουθεν
 γινεται ημιν εχει δε την γραφην Διοτιμος
 σπουδασον ουν ινα καθα εξειληφामεν ηδη? 5
 υπο Διονυσιου και Διοτιμου χρηματισθη[ι
 ημιν και μη τα εργα ενλειφθη καθα
 και ενπροσθεν εγενετο εαν γαρ αισθωνται
 οι εργαζομενοι ουθεν ημας ειληφοτας
 τον σιδηρον ενεχυρα θησουσιν 10

Lλ παχωνς ιθ

On the back—

ΚΛΕΩΝΙ

"To Kleon greeting. We the *decatarchs* of the free quarrymen are suffering injustice. For as regards what was agreed to by Apollonios the administrator, nothing as yet comes to us. But the agreement is in Diotimos' hands. Insist, therefore, that according as we have received [promises] from Dionysios and Diotimos, so we may be supplied, and the works may not be behindhand, as has happened before. For if the workmen find out that we have received nothing, they will put their iron (tools) in pledge. Year 30. Pachon 19."

This is the first document relating to these quarrymen which tells us distinctly that they were free labourers. The rest of the text is quite plain, except that there are three letters (ηδη?) blurred (perhaps erased) at the end of l. 5, and that it is not clear to me whether the concluding words mean that they will keep their iron tools (supplied by the office of public works) as pledges for payment, or whether they will pawn them to obtain food. The latter is the use of the idiom in Attic Greek.

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI, PART II.

E [33]

XIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, 258-253 B.C.

A' 3

(2)

[Autotyped.]

A[ρμα]ις Κλεω[νι
 χ[αιρ]ειν κα[λως α]ν
 π[ο]ιησαις συντ[αξ]ας
 δουναι Πετεςνηιτωι?
 κωμαρ[χη] Σεβ[εννυτου]
 εις επισκευ[ην γεφ]υ?
 ρων τριων των κατα
 Σεβεννυτον σχοινια
 τριακοντα και τον
 προς ταυταις εσο
 μεν[ο]ν συναποστειλον
 αυτωι ινα επισκευ
 ασθωσι προ της
 του υδατος αφεσεως
 ερρωσο Λλ
 παυνη κγ?

The hand seems to me the same as that of zz (3), above, IV. (12); but the name of the writer, though perhaps ending with υς, is hidden by a little gap which does not leave room for a name so long as the ολμωνς of the other. In spite of other serious gaps I can interpret it, viz.:—"Armais to Kleon greeting. You will do well if you order to be given to Petesnites (?), the Komarch of Sebennytyos, for the construction of the three [bridges] at Sebennytyos, thirty ropes, and at the same time send to him the overseer appointed to superintend these [bridges] in order that they may be finished before the letting loose of the water.

Goodbye. Year 30, Payni 23 (?)."

(3)

B 33 joined to A I

Νικη]ρατος Κλεωνι χαιρειν το προς νοτον
 τ]ου οχυρωματος τειχος μερος μεν τι αυτου
 πεπτωκος εστιν το δ επιλοιπον φερεται ωσ-
 τε κινδυνευει πεσοντος αυτου διαφωνησαι
 τι των σωματος καλως ουν ποιησεις την
 απεγδοσιν αυτου ποιησαμενος και δους Διονυ-
 σιωι τωι [ο]ικο[νο]μωι οπως? ενεργηι? ευθεως γαρ
 εξομεν εξαγαγοντες και πλεονι τοπ[ω]ι απο-
 χρησασθαι προς τους παραδεδομενους δια εσ
 μωτας [υ]π Απολλωνιου του διοικητου ερρωσο Λλ αθυρ ις 10

[34]

XIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, 258-253 B.C.

"Nikeratos to Kleon greeting. The wall to the south of the prison, part of it has fallen, but the rest of it is going, so that there is a risk, if it comes down, of killing some of the people. You will therefore do well, having made out the receipt (?) of it, and giving it to Dionysios the steward to ———. For forthwith, by bringing out these prisoners, we shall have more room at our disposal for the prisoners now being delivered to us by Apollonios the administrator. Goodbye. Year 30, Athyr 16th." Besides the faintness of l. 3, and the lacerated junction at l. 7, which I have at last been able to supply with certainty, there are several difficulties in this text. The *nom. pendens*, at the outset, is not unnatural in such a document. But *διαφωνησαι*, for *to die*, would be a complete puzzle did it not occur in Agatharchides, a writer of this very century, as well as in Diodoros, in the sense of *to perish*. The technical word *απεγδοσις*, which occurs elsewhere in these papers, is still unexplained. *εκδοσις* may mean either a *delivery* (of prisoners), or else a *letting out* of work; nor is either sense impossible here. In l. 9, *δια* was first written, and then corrected into *δεσ*. Though these two fragments have already been printed separately (above, IV. (10), V. (c)), I thought it well to give them here, as they appear when their connexion was discovered long after. The reader who compares the two versions will see how many difficulties are thus removed, and how some letters, formerly illegible, have yielded to closer inspection in better light.

(4)

L I

σ ο ι τ η ς π α ρ α Ν ι κ η ρ α τ ο υ
τ η ν α π ε γ δ ο σ ι ν η δ η
κ ι ν δ υ ν ε ν ε ι ν τ ο ο χ υ ρ ω μ α
ε ρ ρ ω σ ο [Λ λ π α ν ν ι κ ζ

ο χ υ ρ ω μ α τ ο ς τ ο ο ι κ ο δ ο μ η θ ε ν
ν μ ε ρ ο υ ς γ ι ν ω σ κ ε π ε π τ ω κ ο ς
λ η μ μ ε ν α ε α ν ο υ ν μ η
ο ι κ ο δ ο μ ο υ ς η δ η ο ι α ν ο ι κ ο δ ο μ η σ ο υ σ ι ν
π λ ε ο ν α σ ω μ α τ α ω σ α ν τ ω ς δ ε
τ ο π ρ ο ς λ ι β α μ ε ρ ο ς τ ο υ ο χ υ ρ ω μ α τ ο ς ε π ι
η δ η ? κ α ι τ ο υ τ ο π ε σ ε ι ν
ε ρ ρ ω σ ο [Λ λ π α] ν ν ι κ γ

(Endorsement)—

ά τ η ς
π α ρ α Ν ι
κ η ρ α τ ο υ
ε π

This fragment, endorsed "a copy (*αντιγραφον*) of the letter from Nikeratos," is on the same topic as the last, but seven months later, so that there was delay in attending to his former minute. If the rest of it can be found, we shall probably clear up the obscurity in the word *απεγδοσιν*. The amount lost at the left side is uncertain.

[35]

XIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, 258-253 B.C

(5)

[Autotyped.]

H' 2, 3, 4

Πανακεστωρ? Κλεωνι χ[αι]ρειν απε[σ]τειλα μεν σοι και [τ]ηι κβ οπως αν απο
 στειλῃς? [πληρ]ωμα ο κατασκ[. . .]αι? τους αγκωνας της μικρας διωρυγος συ δε φαινει
 π[αρελη]λυθεναι εις την μικρα[ν] λιμνην ο[υ]κ εδει μεν ουν σε παραπορευεσθαι αλλα και
 προς ημας παραβαλειν ωρ[ας] μοριον και τεθε[α.]μενον σε μη βρεχομενην την γην επερωτησαι
 δια] τ[ι]ν αιτιαν ον βρεχ[ομ]εν απ[ηρμ]ενον τε ταξ[αι] την μικραν λιμνην αρχιτεκτονειν
] και ταυτην [αι]τιαν κα[ταλυε]ιν? αντιασον ημιν αυριον επιτ[ει] λας [ημ]ιν και αρχιτεκο
 σιν?] ως δει το υδωρ απ απειροι? εσμεν σωμ[ατα] τ[η]ν λοιπην
 χ]ορηγίαν ημεις παρεξομεν σοι ο[ση]ν αν συντασσης· εαν δε μη παραγενῃ αναγκασθησομεθα
 γ]ραφειν Απολλωνιωι οτι μονω . [. . . .] η αυτου γη· εν τ[η]ι λιμνηι αβροχος εστι ημων βουλο
 μενων πασαν χορηγίαν παρεχειν

ερρωσο Lκθ μεσορη κα

"? to Kleon greeting. I sent you word on the 22nd inst. also, that you should send (labourers? and an overseer?) to prepare the angles (or corners) of the small canal, but now you appear to have gone by us to the small lake. You ought, indeed, not to have passed us by in this way, but to have landed with us for a quarter of an hour, and having seen yourself that the land was not watered, you should have asked us why we do not water, and then, on your departure, have ordered the small lake to be engineered, and this complaint to be removed. Meet us then to-morrow, having given orders to us and to the engineers that the water must []; as we have plenty of hands, we can supply all the rest, according as you appoint it. But if you do not come to us, we shall be compelled to write to Apollonios that his land only at the lake is dry, though we wished to give all assistance.

Goodbye. Year 29, Mesore 21."

I am not sure of the writer's name. It seems like Πανακεστωρ. In the second line is a gap, and then a nominative hard to explain. Παραβαλειν and απαιρειν are classical words for "heaving to," and "setting sail." Lines 2, 6, and 7 are too mutilated to translate with certainty. The "small lake" points to the system of irrigation by reservoirs or basins, not that by small field channels—a contrast now known by the terms *Malaq* and *Misquawi* (cf. Major Browne's *Fayyûm and Lake Moeris*, p. 96). What is meant by engineering (αρχιτεκτονειν) the little lake is not clear. It is well known that the opening or shutting of the sluice-gates was in some cases very costly, as we are told by Diodorus, i. 52.

XIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, 258-253 B.C.

(6)

Λ' 2

Αρχεστρατος Κλεωνι χαιρειν ει ερρω[σαι και παντα σοι
 κατα λογον εστιν πολλη χαρις μοι [τοις θεοις ερρωμεθα
 και α]υτοι εγω βουλομενος καλλ . . [5
 ταξα των εκ της Πτολεμαιδος αυτ[Απολ]
 πυθεσθαι περι της εργολαβιας ης ηρ[5
 λωνιος ο τους λιθους αναστειλαντος δε[ε
 οτι ειη λυσιτελης η εργολαβια και π[10
 αυτωι επ[.] ποειν ? το εργον ενεχειρησα[10
 ινα σοι περι τουτων λαλησω ? ενοχλησ[10
 του τινος ελθειν μεν προς σε ουκετ[ι] . [10
 τοπωι ? [. . .] σγεγραφα δε σοι ελ . κβ[10
 βουλον σε εις τοπραγμα λαβειν και μηθ[10
 πραξαι αλλως αν σοι ? βουλευσαμενωι φα[10
 ημειν συνταξης ουτως ποειν καλ[15
 φρουτισας και τας ψηφους ελκυσ[ας 15
 ικανον αφαιρεθηναι απο του λιθουρ[γου
 ινα μη ελκηται ουτως δε ως και[15
 μεριδος εσ[ο]μενης εαν ουν μοι εντα . . ?
 αυτον ενοχλησω εχθεματα τε εκ[θες ? 15
 τυραμενος και αμα δοκωι εντε[15
 βασιλεα κουφιζομεν και επιστ[15
 λειψομεθα προς σε περι τουτων . [15
20
20

(Foot of column.)

I have gathered four pieces of this letter, written on dark papyrus in an unusual hand, but there is still a strip on the right side missing. It is hardly possible, therefore, to restore the context. The letter is couched in much more ceremonious terms than most of the business letters to Kleon. The writer seeks his friendly advice concerning some contract in stone or quarry works, in which Apollonios (our well-known overseer?) is concerned. There is something about removing τας ψηφους, which I conjecture to be the pebbles lying over the rock to be quarried, and so lightening the work of the stone-cutters. But nothing certain can be made of the fragments.

[37]

XIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, 258-253 B.C.

(7)

B 34

] . οσζωι[
]ησιδοτη . [
 γ]εγονεναι αυτηι εν κροκοδιλων [πολει
]μηνος αθυρ κη
]εν Πυθωνι τωι τραπεζιτηι δουν[αι 5
]φλ ας εξεδεξατο Ηρακλειτ[ος
]υπερ Ωρου του υποτριηραρχου και τ[
]α εδει αυτηι Ωρον καταβαλειν[
 λοιπ[α]λ ἄωνα διαγραφον αυτηι
 του χρηματισθεντος σοι οψωνιον εις το[υς 10
 νομωι φυλακιδας και μηθεν επ[
 δε τουτο υπαρξει η τιμη των ευρεθε[ντων
 παρα Τασυθειτηι υποδεχομενηι τα[

This curious fragment, apparently to pay a woman called Tasutheite some money due to her from Horos the sub-trierarch, was found among Kleon's papers. That there should have been trierarchs, a well-known Attic word for those who fitted out ships of war, in the Fayyûm, or indeed in Egypt, is very surprising. The hand is large and clear, and the readings not likely to be wrong. Python, the banker, appears in receipts to be printed in the sequel.

(8)

Z 61

θυρα ?]ς τας εν μοντιλαι κεκλιμενας και την διωρυγα
 δ . . . ν ανα βουκολων κωμην κεκλεικα
 ινεπ[. .] εουν . υι τα χωματα και αι διαβαθραι ου μη
 του ?]το βουλ[ευσα]σθαι ει δει μιαν θυραν κλεισαι εν Πτολεμαιδι
 ερρωσο Lκθ επειφ ε

(9)

Z 62

]ειν τηι κβ
 ε]γεγραφει μοι εσπ[
 ε]πιστολην περι του
 ανοιχθηναι θυραν
 ης σοι ευθυσ ταντι
 γραφα επεμψα κα[ι ν]υν
 δε της αυτης υπογ[ραφης

On the back, ΚΛΕΩΝΙ

[38]

XIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, 258-253 B.C.

(10)

L 5

. . . . Κλεωνι χαιρ]ειν υπογεγραφα σοι τ[
 θαμυν[]ιγ Ψενχωνσις Αρνωτου θ? .[
 Φανησιος . . ωτου ιβ Αμενεως Νεχθυριος κ
 σ]οι ινα ει[δης?] και θυραν βουλομενος ανοιξαι ουδ[
 .]ωι εσαι[] . στειλας και τον σκεοφυλακα και μ[

On the back, ΚΛΕΩΝΙ

(11)

Α' 5

Ζ[η]νων Κλεωνι χαιρειν το υδωρ αν[]εβη . ε εν πλειω[. . .]χεν
 ωστε μη δυνασθαι απ αυτης ποτιζε[σθαι] πολισ ανοι[
 τας θυρας ινα ποτιζ[ηι? ημ]ας ηδη (the end)
 Λ]κη μεσορη κγ

(Endorsement gone.)

On the back, ΚΛΕΩΝΙ

I have put together four fragments relating to the same subject; in spite of their obscurity, they are valuable in giving us the name for the sluice-gates on the canals into the Fayyûm—*θυραι*, which Strabo, in describing the great canal, calls *locks*—*κλειθρα*. But in the further details we have been unfortunate, for though I have not only these but several other such fragments on the sluice-gate question, they all belong to separate letters, and so afford no connected sense.

In (8) I have set down stray letters as they appear, but without understanding them. In many cases, *λι*, *η*, *αι*, *δι* are hardly distinguishable in these hands. The strange word *μοντιλαι*, as I read it, in the first line, seems to occur again in another scrap, very similar in writing and papyrus, but dated L32, Mesore 25. There occurs *την θυραν των απο του μοντιλαμ* , written very plainly. Concerning (10), it is only possible to say that the sums set down after the Egyptian names may be the special sums they offer to contribute for the opening of the gates, which we know to have been very expensive.

(12)

L 3

(a)

Κλεων Θεωδωρωι χαιρειν γε[γραφα
 κησαμενος παντα[

On the back— ΘΕΥΔΩΡΩΙ

B 35

(b)

Θεωδωρος Κλεωνι χαιρειν[
]ται και ουκετι[
]εδωκα[

[39]

XIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, 258-253 B.C.

(13)

AA

Φιλισ[κ]ος Κλεωνι χαιρην [τ]ης εντε[υξεως ην εγραψεν μοι
 Ασκ[λη]πιδοτος απεσταλκα σοι τα α[ντιγραφα ει ουν
 ανα[γκ]αιον εστιν γραψον μοι οπως απ[

βασιλει Πτολεμαιοι χαιρειν Γλανκ[ος
 Απογ

(14)

Λ' 4

Α[ρμ]αις Κλεωνι χ[αιρειν] εις τον θησαυρον τον εν τ[.]ν ηγγελλεν μοι
 ο οικοδομος ^β μ^β πλινθων μονον δεδοτωι τα νομ . . [.] τος συναγεται
 και εστιν καθαρ[ο]ς νυν επι των α[. .] . νς[.] τον οικοδομον
 ηδη το ανηλωμα[. .] τον θησα[υρ]ον . . το[.] το δε τας των ?
]των ερρωσο [L]λβ μεσορη ?

On the back—

παρα Αρμαιος
 περι οικοδομων ΚΛΕΩΝΙ

(15)

Λ' 5

]λατο επι της εκτροπης κατα ψεναρνω
]αρχης οπως αφηι το υδωρ τα δε σωματα
]τα το πολλημειον αποδεδωκαμεν δε το
]εως του πολλημειου
 ερρωσο Lλβ παννι κς

These fragments are added in the hope that the remainders may yet be found. Θεωδωρος, so written twice, is an interesting form. (14) shows that Kleon's duties included building proper, as well as engineering, for which the Greeks seem to have had no other technical word; at least in Strabo the water-engineers are so called.

(15) is the right part of a strip containing a short letter on the same subject. There is a broad margin both above and below the writing, and no address on the back. But the lost part must have been quite as long as what we have. Twice over the writer corrects η into ει, and in a curious word—the Poleimieion. What it means I do not know. It can hardly be a mistake for *Pt.*, which might possibly mean some shrine of the reigning house; and if it means the war-office, or office for war-tax, we are still in the face of a riddle. The date, writing, and paper make it almost certain to be part of Kleon's correspondence.

[40]

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS. 258-253 B C

N' I

Φίλιππος Διονυσίωι χαίρει[ν
 και η Δαμιδος υπεκδ[οχη ?
 πεντε εαν ουν ελθ[
 καθηκων . . τα ηδιο . [10
 οι περι Μαιμαχον και[
 χρησασθω τωι υδατι ο δ[
 αρθητωσαν αι θυραι τ[
 δωμεν και την σησ . . . [
 ου ? συντετελεσται κωμ[15
 αναπληρωσαι και τ[
 δρου κεφαλην (*the end*)

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI. PART II.

F [41]

XIII.

CORRESPONDENCE OF KLEON, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WORKS, 258-253 B.C.

(17)

Λ' I

υπομνημα παρα Κλεωνος Διοτιμ[ωι
 παραγεγραμμαι τωι πρακτορι ως ο[φείλων
 προς τα αμπελικά του λL Zq και
 του αλL πυρων κδγ . . και διπλειον
 ειληφεναι του διαγεγραμμενου 5
 οψωνιου εν τωι κθL ο εστιν αγορας . ?
 ην ουκ ειληφα αργυριου LΧιζι χαλκου Σ[λαι
 και προς το λL ωσαυτως Αργυριου ρμ Χαλ Σπη=
 γεινονται Αργυριου Ψνζι Χαλκ Φιθι=
 και προς την εικοστην υποθεμενος 10
 του κεχρηματισμενου τοις λατομοις
 απο του κζL εως του αλL π κ ων ειν[αι
 την δεδομενην εικοστη[ν π α
]τος μου πλειον παρα[
]ν LÂ εν δε τηι εμ[αυτου 15

This is a column all but complete in width, but lost below the 13th line, with a few initial letters of the next column showing outside ll. 8, 12. There are many interesting problems here contained. So far as I can translate it, we have as follows: "Mem. from Kleon to Diotimos. I am returned to the tax-agent, for the vine-tax of year 30, 90 drachmæ; and for the year 31, 24 measures of wheat; and that I received double the allowance of provision-money in the 29th year, which is, of allowance (?) which I have not received, in silver 617½ drachmæ, in copper 231½; and for the year 30, likewise, in silver 140 drachmæ, in copper 288 and 2 obols. The tot is 757½ drachmæ of silver, and 519½ + 2 obols of copper. And having set aside for (the tax of) the ⅓ of the money spent on the quarrymen, from the year 27 to the year 31, 20 talents, of which the ⅓ paid amounts to 1 talent"—. The rest is unintelligible. παραγραφεισθαι has so many legal meanings that it is hard to determine it strictly here. The general sense must be that of being entered in book as liable, perhaps entered *wrongly*. The πρακτωρ, who is often mentioned in these papers, seems to have been the public accountant. I think nothing is lost at the end of l. 3, but this is not certain. It is at most, one or two letters. In l. 4 he writes one-and-thirty for thirty-one, by a mere slip. Λ and Α are often undistinguishable in these hands, but here not so. After the 24 follows a partly erased sign, which probably stands for *artabæ*, but what remains looks like Γ' = ⅓. The statement that he was charged for a larger amount than he had really received makes the last sense of παραγεγ. in l. 1 more probable. The last word of l. 6 is very doubtful, and I can make no sense of αγορας which it appears to be, unless it be equivalent to *supplies*. But then comes something very

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curious. Silver and copper currencies are treated as collateral, and sums set down separately in both. These sums are in no relation to one another. I have only supplied the necessary figures at the end of l. 7 to make up the copper tot, which, as well as the silver (in l. 9), seem quite correct. As Dr. Bernard suggests to me, the case may have been similar to that of paymasters of workmen in our day, who, for convenience sake, are given large sums in copper as well as silver to avoid the necessity of requiring change from the men.

It seems further to follow that Kleon must have been in office from the year 27 (of the 2nd Ptolemy)—and other documents bring it beyond the year 31 here mentioned, at least to 32 (cf. above (15), p. [40]).

(18 a)

Ο' Ι (*recto*)

(περι του Κερκου-
^{πρὸς}
 περι του οφειλομενου αργυριου . . . μ
 των τε (*gap*) ΝΖΙ-С και των ΞΖ
 περι του προς ταις κατακλεισιν τοπου
 ινα αναχωσθῃ και ομαλισθῇ προς 5
 τη]ν του βασιλεως αfixιν επει αι
 λιθηγοι ου προσαγουσι τους λιθους
 προσηγμενους επι του ορμου
^{λιθοι} και προσηγημ
 επει οι εν Βουσειρει τετμημενοι λιθοι νοι
^{επι τον ορμον}
 επι του παροντος ου μεταγονται προς τας εν 10
 Πτολεμαιδι κατακλειδας [^{δια το μη υπαρχειν λιθη}] τα λοιπα γουε
 εργα συντελεσθαι συνταξον Νικοστρατωι
^{χορηγειν οπως} και ομαλισθῇ
 ευτ[ονωτ]ερον ινα αναχωσθῃ τα κοιλωμα[τα
^{...}
 προ[του] τον βασιλεα παραγενεσθαι
 και [. . . . λ]οιπα εργα ως αν γραφῃ αυτωι 15
^{ευθως}
 . αματη[. . . σ]υμβολα ενχρημαζειν και μη
^{...}
 κλεω . [. . . .]ος υπερβαλλεσθαι βλαπτεται
]τιαν ταυτην
^{χρηματα γαρ αργυ?}
]επισκευασθαι καν
^{...}
]ν προς τα εργα 20
 (*End of column.*)

A connected text begins at l. 4: "Concerning the place at the locks that it may be filled up and levelled against the king's arrival, since the stone-carrying boats do not bring up the stones brought as far as the harbour, since the stones cut at Busiris and brought as far as the harbour are not brought across to the locks at Ptolemais, because there are no stone-boats—in order that

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the work may be accomplished, direct Nikostratos more strictly to afford means that the excavation may be filled up and levelled before the king arrives." The letter is a rough draft, with repetitions and erasures, and many words added over the lines. I have noted the erased words which are still legible by dots under them. In ll. 9, 11, the superscriptions have their last syllable written under them after the last word of the corrected line—a very unusual thing. The sequel is a new document, perhaps on the same subject, but hopelessly incomplete. Being, however, as the *verso* shows, written as early as Kleon's official rule, it tells us that the 2nd Ptolemy, late in life, visited the Fayyûm province. This is, perhaps, the point of the remark of Polykrates to his father (above, XI. (1)), that he may be presented to the king at the Arsinoeia. If so, that letter must have been written at the same period as this—during the years 255-250 B.C.

(18 b)

Ο' Ι (*verso*, written in upside down direction)

οπαλαω

ιαπο

Νικοστ]ρατωι χαιρειν

τ]ης δοθεισης μοι παρα

κλ[εντ]ευξεως τα αντιγραφα 5

εχω[Κρο]κοδιλων πολει και εν

εκθεμα

Πτ[ολεμαι]δι [του]ς βουλομενους εργολαβειν

απο τ[] ινος εργων

των π[] ικ[] νη[.]φεσει α ηργολεβηκ[?] 5

απολ[] δε προσταξαι . θυραι (και Καλλ[ι])

]ς εργολαβιας

δομος [. . .] εκθες ουν εκθεμα και προκη 10

ρυξον ει τ[ιν]ες βουλονται ετι ελασσονος

ε]ργολαβη[σα]ι διδοναι προσαγγελμα Νικοσ

(erasure)

τρατωι και Κλεωνι τωι αρχιτεκτονι ως ου ?

κυρβ[. . .] σου υστερον

τι υστερον υπερβολην δεξομενων

περι] δε του κυρωθηναι τα εργα γραψον Νεω[ν]ι ? 15

καλλιδομον

συ[να]κολουθειν τοις εργοις και μηθεν

αεν τουτου ανηλίσκειν

τοις ανηλισκομενοις εις τα εργα

υπογεγραφα δε σοι και της δοθεισης μοι

παρ αυτου εντευξεως τα αντιγραφα 20

The general sense is here also plain. A correspondent sends Nikostratos the copy of a letter proposing that tenders should be invited from contractors either in Krokodilopolis or Ptolemais to perform some public work, possibly that already mentioned on the *recto*. The expression written over line 9, "lightening the king's burden," occurs elsewhere. The writer proceeds

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(l. 10): "Issue a public notice and advertise, if any wish to contract at a lower tender, to send word to Nikostratos and to Kleon the architect." Then follow two words ($\omega\varsigma$ ου?) erased, with two superscripts over them, both illegible, and then a mutilation at the opening of l. 14, after which all the letters are clear. What does the clause mean? Even l. 14 is corrected by a superscription mostly gone. I suppose it refers to a notice that hereafter they will receive no advance in the offer, the maximum being proposed by the State, and the contractors making their tenders as far below it as they thought wise—in fact a Dutch auction, starting from a maximum. Line 11 favours this view. But $\nu\pi\epsilon\rho\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ also means, especially in Polybius, *delay*, so that the clause may mean that the contractors will obtain no further extension of time. The η in l. 14 is quite plain, but very puzzling. Is it the end of $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau\iota$? The writer proceeded: "But, as regards the audit (sanction) of the work, write to Neon? to keep his eye on the works, and that they spend nothing without this inspection." This, however, was erased, and the following substituted: "Write that Kallidomos? will keep his eye on the expenditure for the work." The two proper names are indistinct, but apparently as printed above. A long black bracket at the left, shown by the dotted line, encloses ll. 8-20. Below l. 20 appears the last line of a text written the opposite way, which is very odd, as the writer says he has subscribed a copy of the document to which he refers.

(19)

Π' Ι

] . . νον εχων[
]αις ουτω γαρ [εστα]ι τυχειν και τον
 υστερον χ]ρονον ευιλατου του βασιλ[εως η]μην ουθεν εμοι
 . . . με]ζον η σου προστατησα[ι τον σου]λοιπον βιον αξιως
 με]ν σου αξιως δε μου και εαν τι των κατ ανθρωπον γινηται 5
 τυχειν σε παντων των καλων ο εμοι [μ]εγιστον εσται καλως σου
 προστατησαι και ζωντος σου και εις θεους απελθοντος μαλιστα
 (margin) μεν ουν την πασαν σπουδην ποιησαι [το]ν αφεθηναι σε δια τελους
 ει δ αρα μη οραιοι ον δυνατον αυτην [περι τη]ν ανα[χω]ρησιν του
 ποταμου καθ ον χρονον ουθεις εστιν κινδυνος α[ναγ]εσται και 10
 Θεωδωρον καταλειφθεντα ταυτοποιειν οπως τ[ουτο]ν γε
 8
 τον χρονον παρεπιδημης τουτο ε εχε τη δια[νοια]ι οτι
 ουθεν σοι μ?η γενηθη λυπηρον αλλα παν ε[μοι εστ]αι πεφρον
 τισμενον του σε γενεσθαι αλυπον[παντως?
 (margin)

This is one of three documents written in the great bold hand already reproduced in Plate XXX. (1) of the first part of this work. The writer's name, Philonides, is mentioned there and on one of these; and $\tau\omega\iota$ πατρι χαιρειν on the second and the third, as well as the tenor of the first, show that all the letters were addressed to his father. There is no finer hand among the papyri, and its palaeographical interest makes us desirous to determine its exact age. Unfortunately, the delicate and brittle papyrus on which all his letters were written has gone to pieces, and the

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above text, as well as its fellows, is now in many fragments, leaving gaps which we cannot fill. Hence I have not printed the remaining two letters, which are in the same hand, but in writing somewhat smaller than the one here given. On the back of the third I discovered the faint address Κλεωνι, which proves that Philonides was a son of the architect, and that the present letters date from the end of Ptolemy II.'s reign (255-250 B.C.). With Mr. Bury's help I have made the restoration, which reads: "For thus you will find the king for the future also propitious. Surely nothing is to me more vital than to protect you during the rest of your life, worthily of you, worthily of myself; and should any mortal chance befall you, that you should receive all attention, which is my main object to stand by you well both while you live and when you depart to the gods. Above all things, then, make every effort to be finally relieved of your duties; but if you find this impossible, (make an effort) about the very time of the falling of the river, when there is no danger, and Theodoros remains as your deputy, to take ship, in order that for this season at least you may sojourn with us. But hold this fact in your mind, that nothing vexatious may happen to you, but that I have used every forethought to keep you free from trouble." *εὐλατος* is known only in the LXX. In l. 10 I hold the writer to have written *αγαγ]εσται* for *αγαγεσθαι*. Some infinitive seems absolutely necessary. *ταυτοποιειν* occurs in Aristotle's Ethics, but here in the new sense of acting as deputy or *alter ego*. The construction of the last three lines does not satisfy me, but I am not answerable for Philonides' grammar. The coupling of the names Polykrates and Philonides in other documents (X. (1) and XVI.) make it more than probable that the other best hand of the collection was that of another son of Kleon, Polykrates, who writes with the same filial affection to his father. We also learn that Theodoros (Theudoros) was Kleon's assistant; and the dates make it almost certain that Theodoros succeeded Kleon in the office of architect (cf. IX. (13), comm.).

There are a few more scraps with Kleon's name, but so slight, and so unimportant, that I have determined not to print them. For if I were to record here every stray word on papyrus which the collection contains, there would be an immense mass of useless details to bewilder the reader. Wherever a new word, or peculiar use of a word, appears, I have not failed to record it. Thus, the following is only worth printing on account of the word *μυρικινων* :—

(20)

Αλεξανδρος Κλεων[ι χαιρειν
 τους κατα παν[
 νομαρχαι[]ν διδοασιν α[
 περι δεω[] δοθηναι Κλεων[
 ημεις ειρ[]σοι τη[]ν δοθηναι α[
 δοθητωσαν Ε̂ βουλονται δε τινες εις Σ[
 μυρικινων γραφον αυτωι εκ Πτολεμαιδος δ[
 ωσαντως δε και της Διογενους νομαρχιας (*the end*)

Any text so old would be interesting in autotype reproduction, and there is here a very peculiar writing of the Ε̂ (5000). But to photograph the whole collection would require a large fortune.

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Θ'	Recto.	(1 a)	[Autotyped.]
		και πο . κτησιν ? ^Υ Μ . . ει . . .	
		προτερον οικονομου ^Υ π εφ ωι παρε-	
		ξεται ^{υε ανδρων λιθηγων} πλεον τα . . . ιου καισθεν . ν	
		μηνας ? ιβ νυν [. . .] φε [. . .] παλιν ? προσ-	
		δειςθαι παις [. . . .] δια [. . .] [πρ	5
		τεραν ηδη ειναι (erasure) χρημα	
		τισαις ουν αυτωι αλλας ^{χαλ} ^{μη κατα τουτοις} μ εως ^{περι} ανιπροσφ . δρ . . . πιαν	
		ινα . . . νο λιθηγος μη κατα τουτο	
		αργηι (erasure) ως δ . ι ? επι τον διοικη-	
		την ανεενκωμεν αν συντασσηι πραχθη	10
		σεται τας μτ εκ των διδομενων	
		αυτωι ναυλων	

The *recto* contains four separate texts, of which the general sense and many of the details are ascertained, but much remains yet to be cleared up. (a) has the top torn off, and with it the subject to which the payment refers. The first five lines are hardly intelligible owing to gaps and erasures. But it appears that some contractor had arranged with "the former steward to receive 80 drachmæ on condition of his affording a larger number of men, of stone-carriers, for twelve months?" It appears that the first advance of money was spent, and that this is an advice to the new steward "to advance him 40 drachmæ more, in order that the stone-carriers may not be idle. If referred to the comptroller he can easily recover the 40 drachmæ from the passage money on boats which he constantly receives." In l. 8 the last three words are erased, and the correction superscribed at an earlier place. In (1 c) gaps should have been marked at the opening of ll. 2, 3, 4. The first word in l. 4 was probably *πλινθου*. In (1 α), l. 1, I abandon the reading *λεανδρου*; I can only suggest *αι . . νδιου*. In l. 2 *το μεγα χωμα* was written, then the two latter words erased, and the writer, adding an *ν* over the *το*, went on with his correction. He also inserted a *ν* after the following *το*.

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(1 b)

X Δικαιωι συνταξας διεγνησαι? χρηματισον Διονυσιωι Απολλωνιου
^{προυπαρχουσιν εν πτολεμαιοις}
 τωι?] εξειλεφοτει την βασιλικην καταλυσιν καθελειν
 δια το πεπονηκεναι? και μετενηκαι την πλινθον υση αν ενυγρος?
 ηι[] εμε αι της καινης καταλυσεως κατα την εργολα
 βιαν [της?] μ^α πλινθου? (χαλκου) ιε επι του παροντος μ^β . λ (erasure)
 ιμ^γ [] με

There are uncertainties in the decipherment of this, viz. the opening of line 1, and the close of the third line. "Having directed Dikaïos to give security: Pay to Dionysios, son of Apollodoros, who has contracted to take down the Royal quarters previously existing at Ptolemais, on account of his making and transferring the bricks [from the old building to the ?] new quarters according to the contract, for each 10,000 bricks 15 drachmæ. At the present moment 20,000 = 30 drachmæ; 30,000 [make] 45 drachmæ."

At the opening Δικαιωι is pretty certain; συνταξας quite so; the next word seems misspelt for διεγγ. The Royal quarters were for the convenience of officials who visited the place, and served for an inn (καταλυσις). I think πεπονηκεναι (mistake for πεποιηκεναι?) is the only possible reading, though the ο is invisible; and μετενηκαι is probably a mistake for μετενεγκαι. The reading of the end of the line οση αν ενυγρος, the ο being written over a mistaken υ, is Mr. Bury's suggestion, but the last letters seem γγης. Mr. Petrie tells me that the cost of bricks, which is about the same now in Egypt, is increased by 50 per cent. if there be even a short distance to carry them. This agrees precisely with the facts here, as compared with those cited above, XII. (1). There the price was 10 drachmæ per 10,000; here, with carriage, it is 15 drachmæ. But let us consider the next case.

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(1 c)

εισ]εγγνηκασιν Πλωνωρωι? Νεκυθης Σεμφθεως Αρφιχουμις
 Πετεςουχος Νεχ[. .]μβεως Ψενοβαστις Πασιτος Παως Πετησιος
 Παμου[]ς πλινθουλκοι οι εξειληφότες ελκυσαι
^β
 μ ωστε εις την συντελουμενην εν Πτολεμαιδι βα
 σι[λικην] καταλυσιν εκαστης μ^α Λι χαλκου Ζχ

Several Egyptians (apparently six) "have contracted with Plonoros (?), being the brick-carriers who have undertaken to draw bricks for the Royal quarters now being built in Ptolemais, for each 10,000, 10 drachmæ, which is in copper 600 drachmæ." The price here, of course, depends upon the distance. But if this be indeed the existing ratio of silver to copper, the information is most valuable. It is to be noticed above in (1 a) that the word χαλκου is twice erased, as if the writer was uncertain in which coinage he should express it. He decides in favour of copper. The reader will remember that in a previous document (XIII. 17) silver and copper are mentioned collaterally; but I cannot see with what object it could be done here.

(1 d)

εισηγγνηκασι Νικανωρ Παρμενωντος και Φιλιππος Λεανδρου οι εξειλη-
^{τον παραφρυγανισμον του μεγαλου χωματος}
 φότες μετα Σοκεως του Αρφωνικου (erasure) του κατα Ψεναρυως
 χρηματισον αυτοις την δευτεραν δοσιν απο Ηψ κατα το επιβαλλον?
 αυτοις Ζρις†

"Nikanor and Philippos have contracted, having undertaken along with Sokis, the son of Arphonikos, to protect from soakage the great dyke at Psenaryos. Pay them therefore the second gale from the 700 drachmæ which falls to their share, 116½ drachmæ." This last sum appears to be intended as one-sixth of the whole 700 drachmæ. Here then we have a transaction apparently distinct from the former two, though the great dyke may have wanted repairs owing to the new building of the quarters. The word παραφρυγανισμος occurs elsewhere in these papers, and means (I think) to secure, with either baked bricks or stone, the outer surface of a mound of sun-dried bricks or earth which the water could wash away.

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(2)

θ' Verso.

(α')

(lines lost)

καλως ου ποιησαι
την ταχιστην
 αποστιλας τους εκ του
 νομου ν ρους ? το

κα

θαι ους ετι και νυν

5

Φρασυσθενη τωι χρη

ματισθηι ουσταμος ?

γραφον ουν ευτονω

τερον Θερωνι και τοις

φυλακταις παραδιξαι (i.e. παραδειξαι) 10

των σταθμων

τους ψ[. . .]ετωιδε[. . .

ες τα αχυρα προς την

πλινθον και αν δι

Απολλοδωρου του ε . . .

ρεν κ . . . ς ? . . . εφη

15

επι μεν των αλλων ων

παραδιξιν τα αχυρα

ου παρακοβειν δη δια το με εχ

(erased) τα αχυρα

]ν σε απελθειν

20

ουκεται επακουει το εις

(β')

(lines lost)

[Here are remains of five lines concluding
 the document, which I cannot under-
 stand or read.]

Here we have lost the uppermost lines of both columns, and there remains a fragmentary text concerning the supplying of chopped straw and chaff, the present Egyptian *tibn*, for the purpose of making bricks—probably those mentioned on the *recto* side. The accus. in l. 3 escapes me. L. 4 is lost, and with it the beginning of the word which appears at the opening of l. 5. Phrasiathenes occurs in a Greek inscription of good date as a proper name. *χρηματιστης* is more probably a circuit judge than a money-lender in this society. The end of l. 7 is a

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complete riddle to me. We proceed: "Write, then, more strictly to Theron, and the police, to show (*παράδειξαι*) of the homesteads [the most suitable in those hitherto exempt?] for the *τιβν* for the bricks." The succeeding clause about Apollodoros I do not understand. Line 16: "he said, as regards the rest whose *τιβν* he had indicated (for *παρεδειξεν*?), they refused to deliver it, because I had ———?" The rest is still in the clouds. *αποστιλας*, l. 2, and *ουκεται*, l. 21, as well as *παράδειξαι* and *Φρασουσθενι*, show that this ignorant writer could not distinguish in writing, as he certainly did not in pronunciation, *ι*, *ει*, and *υ*.

There is one other short text, which is full of difficulty, on the same subject, of which I give a part next, in the hope that it may be explained by some friendly critic.

(3)

[Autotyped.]

N' 3

εις τας στασεις?

(line lost)

πλινθου της καταχρησθειας εις τους

οικοδομηθεντας τοιχους β̣ τιμη ως της μ̣ π̣ ις

οικοδομοις και λειτουργοις

ωλεων διησιμων Σο . . . μfs

5

διρωσεως . . ων ρ̣ πηχω δ̣ ια

/ξfs (the ξ corrected to ο)

There are four more lines of a second account, which I have not yet deciphered, except that it refers to the same kind of brick used in building. In it also π stands for πλινθων before the figure. The above text opens: "For bricks used in building the walls, 2000, at the rate of 16 drachmæ per 10,000 bricks," which is a higher sum than we found before, probably for a better quality. Ll. 4 and 5, though legible, I cannot understand.

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zz 8 (a) (1)

επιστο[. . .]στερουσι[
 ει δε μη παλιτραχηλιουσι εντ[(b)
 ναυτας προτερον δε εκαστος αυτων λ[]δου το δια[
 δωρεαν μεν αω . λια ? [. . .] βα . και ? τας τ]ηι ιᾱ δια τριων θυ[ρων
 και προς τοις εργοις εγιν[ο]ντο[6]ιν και τους λαους α[
 ινα εκ του βασιλικου χορηγηται αυτοις[
 δει φροντισαι μη ποτε των ναυτων [απο .
 πεμπτων γενομενων ουκετι ρα[ιδιον ανακ- ?
 τησασθαι ινα ωσι προς τοις εργοις (ον εδ[^{ει γαρ δε}
 συντελεισθαι διατι ου καταφρονουντες πλειονακις μου[10
 ειδησαι ακριβως υπο τινος του δωρπ[
 ωσπερ νυν Πολυδωρος γραφει σοι οτι τα εν ται ? ι . . .
 εγραφον σοι την επιστολην επογε ? τομων τα δ . . . (δεοντα ?)
 επει συ γραφεις μοι εναντιως

(a) This and the next fragment (zz 10) help to explain each other. There is here an application, probably from Theodoros the architect, to supply certain sailors (ναυτης has hitherto been a rare word in Greek prose) with provisions from the State granaries, where taxes in kind were stored. This privilege had been denied; and the writer warns that if the sailors scatter, it will not be easy to collect them again. He had evidently led them to expect their rations, which they formerly got for nothing, and would now fall into contempt unless he made good his word. The participle (l. 13), which must mean *urging*, is clear enough but for the letters γε. (The first letters may possibly be εμοι, as μ and π are not distinguishable in this hand.)

This is the conjectural sense I suggest. There are great difficulties in the reading of ll. 4, 9, 11. The lines are crowded at the end, and the writing becomes small and fugitive.

(b), from the same document, is too small a scrap even to place with certainty.

zz 10, A & C (2)

Ασκληπιαδης Ηφαιστιωνι
 χαιρειν δος Θεοδωρω αρχιτεκτονι
 των ε[ν .] . . νδωι εργων κατα τ]ην A scrap of the letter from
 παρ Ευτυχου του διοικητου Eutychus remains, viz. :
 επιστολην [τ]ην γινομενην 5]ς Θεοδωρω αρ[χιτεκτονι
 αγοραν εις τοις α . . . ι λ ητ οινου πα]ρ Ευτυχου του [διοικητου
 κεραμια πεντηκοντα εξ τε αρ-] λ πς ο[ινου
 τον και συμβολον . τριων ?[
 αυτωι
 (in another hand) 10

On the back— Ηφαιστιωνι (top of c, upside down)

[52]

XV.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THEODOROS, 241-239 B.C.

Here Asklepiades directs Hephastion to let Theodoros the architect have provisions up to a certain amount from what I believe to be the State granaries (cf. above, l. 6). The sigle, in l. 6, is the ordinary one for 900.

A little scrap of the letter referred to remains.

(3)

N I (185)

δια ταυτα προς[
 προς τωι πληρωματι τωι ε[ντα]υθα
 τον αυτου αδελφον καλως [ουν] ποιησεις
 φροντισας ως ενδεχομενως περι αυτον
 εις το επιγραφηναι αυτωι γραμματειον 5
 ου αν σοι φαινεται του ^{το} δε
 ποιησας ευχαριστησεις ημιν κ[αι] ?
 αξιος γαρ εστιν ο ανθρωπος εν χρεiai [.
 (erased line)

ε]ρρωσο L[10

A fragment of a letter, in the same hand as IX. (3), p. [23], asking to have somebody enrolled among the staff of workmen in the writer's neighbourhood. The writing is not easy to decipher. The phrase ως ενδεχομενως occurs elsewhere in the sense of "as far as is possible." The γραμματειον was some official passport or notice required by workmen before they could join or leave their employment (cf. above, IX. (2)). The question remains whether we can fill in the ends of ll. 7 and 8. In neither is it easy, for in l. 7 nothing is required to complete the sense, unless it were και αλλοις, or something of that sort, which is possible. As regards l. 9 our difficulty is to construct it with the next line, unless we permit δε so late in the clause. Probably the sense is: "By doing this you will oblige us, [] for the man is worthy of it, [but] in need —."

The year is lost, but from the hand I take it to be early in the reign of Ptolemy III.

I may add that there appear to be no more words lost at the end of l. 6, which is shorter than the rest. In every case the papyrus is preserved up to the end of the line; but in some lines—especially the last before the signature—there are careful erasures. Moreover, some other text has been carelessly scrawled across the lower left edges of the lines, which interferes much with the reading. The last line of this scrawl, εχετω δε επεργον, is actually over the last line of the older text, which is here carefully erased.

[53]

XVI.

ON THE AFFAIRS OF KLEON'S SONS.

AA 9, 23 & 10

εξω αποστ[. . .]ωι . ι νυν [. . .] παραγεν[
 πειρασομαι ουν αμφοτερας εχων παραγινεσθαι αναγκαιον ουν[
 παραμενειν δια τε την γνωσιν και δι|α τα παρα Διογενει μη[
 εδοθησαν εξεκειτο δε ηδη τοτε εισ[. . .]υρα και το εισοδιον ιε[
 εν τωι Διονυσωδωρου [] οριωι [. . .] . ων δυνε[. .]αι και συν[επα ? 5
 γομενων Φιλωνιδης δε[. . . .]ωι εισιεναι εστιν . . [. . το]ν βασιλεα[
 αξιολογον δια λιθον εστιν δε τριτωνις και αλλαδ[Αρσι-
 νοεια διωκεται δε και τα περι το οικ[ο]πεδον εξοδ[ια ?
 και εικοστου ετους και εικοστου επιχ[ει]ρει ο ελαβεν [] περι παντων
 μενος καταβαλουμεν ουν και τουτ[ωι μη]θεν ενοχληται το οικοπεδον [] . . . 10
 και Πολυκρατης το γινομεν[ον] αυτ[ωι πα]ρα Φιλωνιδου εως του νυν εισ[] μεχε]ιρ γ
 ολιγον τι αυτωι προσωφειλει περι δε [ει]κοστου προς σε παραγενεσθα[ι εγραψ]αμεν
 αριθμον εσεσθαι εκ των Αρσινοε[ιω]ν ου μη[] α πευσομεσθα ακριβεστερον εγ[ραψα]ουν
 σοι να . . . ν ουτως δε υπολαμβανε ευ[τωνω]τερ[ον]] διοικειν [τα παντα
 σου παροντος 15

This text was found in fragments, of which I have brought together several in such manner that some of the lines read consecutively. But though it is comparatively long, I am unable to guess the subject of the letter. This is so unusual that I commend the problem to some more fortunate inquirer. The junction between the various pieces is marked by vertical lines where there are not brackets, with the probable supplements within them. I may notice as regards the handwriting that *δυν*, *συν*, and *ουν* are all so like as to be easily mistaken for one another, and *τ* is written like *οτ*. *εισοδιον* is a LXX word for *income*. Philonides and Polykrates are the sons of Kleon (cf. above, XIII. (19)), and perhaps I should have included this text under that architect's correspondence. The handwriting has a family likeness to that of Polykrates, but is not so good. The last fragment on the right has a strip downwards expunged, though the papyrus is not injured. This damage is represented by the brackets near the ends of ll. 10-15. The Arsinoeia mentioned in ll. 8, 13, are evidently the same as those in the letter of Polykrates (above, XI. (1)). But is it a property, or a feast, to which the writer refers?

XVII.

THE AFFAIRS OF LAMISKE

(1)

z A and ss

]ι εγκληματι ως αρα υ .[
]μηι ηι αυτη φησιν ειναι δ[
]ου δοθεντος μοι ανα . . αιον[?
]εγμενος οικιας ? και της φιλατ[
 οι]κοδομουμενης το[τ]ε εγκλη[ματος 5
 ε]πιδεδωκεν το αντιγραφον ου[
]αγνωων . . ωι ε[πει] επιδεδωκε
 πρα]κτορι τουτο δε γενεσθαι διαρκυ
]περιων βουλομαι των κατα μ[ου ?
 α]φανισαι παραχρημα Αριστομα[χωι 10
] . . ια υπογραφη γενηται εις Αριστ[ομαχον
 δεομα]ι ουν σου βασιλευ ει σοι δοκει προσταξ[αι
 Αριστο]μαχωι τωι στρατηγωι ανακαλεσα[μενον
 Αριστι]οδημον η Πτολεμαιον τους παρα
]υ του πρακτορος εχοντας και τα εγ[κλήματα 15
]ανταγνωσθη μοι καθοτι αξιω .[
]επ Αριστομαχου του τετελε[
] πυρας ους αντ . . η η Λαμισκ[η (junction)
]ναι με υβρισαντα αυτην οντων ?[
 τ]ον Αριστομαχον επερωτησαις[20
 τη]ν Λαμισκην εν τωι Ξανδικωι μη[νι
]α του εγκληματος εμφανιζει κα[ι
]ον εωρακεναι εαν τε μη υπογρα[φη
]και [τ]αδε αλλως πως δοκηι Αριστ[ομαχωι
 ανα]κα[λ]εσαμενον αυ την Λαμισκην[25
] . . . ταοιε . ουτε του Διονυσοδ[ωρον
]σηι εωρακεναι με υβρισαντ[α ?
]απογενομενων δια σε βασιλ[ευ
]τευξομαι και την Λαμισκην[
]κατηγγυγκυιαν με επ[30

These two pieces, on very brown papyrus, represent the centre of a column of writing with probably several words lost at each side. The handwriting is peculiar, and the papyrus is so also, but not without parallels. The case seems to be a charge by a woman Lamiske against the writer, whose name is not preserved. He prays for a full inquiry before the Strategus Aristomachus. *υπογραφη* means a bill of indictment. The writing was considerably washed away in separating the papyrus, and much of the reading is very doubtful. I have put next to this other papers in which Lamiske occurs, and which are, therefore, probably connected with the same controversy.

[55]

XVII.

THE AFFAIRS OF LAMISKE.

(2)

Z A *Three documents found together.*

Νεφθιχis

μεγα[λη
ταις δ[ε

οικω εν κροκοδιλων πολει εν τη[ι

]τι κατα τι μερος των Αριστιππου λεγο[μενων προσφορων

]ανδρος μου . ν ανδρος μου οικι . . ν

]δεκατη καθοτι ? διερμην

]μου και νετο εν τη ανα μεσον ρυ[μηι ?

]διο αδικιας ουτε αντιλογι[ας

]παροντας εν τουτωι[

αν]δρα Παρμενισκον ουδε[

]λα[

]τουτωι τωι τοπωι Λαμισκη[

On the back—

ΝΕΦΘΙΧΙΟΣ.

(3)

Top of column.

δι]κηι προς ην δικαζει[με Ατ]ταλος οικω εν κρ[οκοδι-
λων πολει πατ]ρος μου και της μητρος κ[αι α]υτης εν τωι οικηματι [
τοις Αριστιππου λε]γομενοις προσφοροις ων[ε]στιν απεναντι κατα τι[

του οικηματος εν ωι οικ[ω το] μεν οικ[ημ]α εν ωι ηρα

]α[υ]τηι εργαζομενος το πλεον της ημερας εν τωι οι 5 *end*

ανα με]σον ρυμηι των τε Αριστιππου λεγομενων προσφορων *of*

ε]ωρακα ουτε αντιλογιαν γενομενην Ατταλωι κα[ι *col.*

]ουδε παροντας (*erasure*) εν τουτωι τωι τοπωι

Λαμισ?]κης ανδρα Παρμενισκον ουδε Νουμνηιον οπωπα ?

τη]οπωι ταυτηι ημεραι Λαμισκης και Ατταλου 10

ουδε]ν αδικον ουδ επεμαρτυρατο με Ατταλος (*the end*)

Bottom of column.

XVII.

THE AFFAIRS OF LAMISKE.

(4)

ετους κα μηνος[
]σσι ουδε[]λαμισκη Τιμανδρωι ου[
 π]ροσηλθε Λαμισκη Τιμανδρωι ουδε επεαδ[
]νεδευηει Τιμανδρος ουδ ειδοτες πασεους[
 Τι]μανδρον ο ως δαναφεισα ες[
]δρος ουδ εισ . . εν ουδ εσπαρασσεν [ουδ]ε επι . . .[
]Τιμανδρ[ο]ς ουτε Παρμενισ[κος] προσηλθε[
]Τιμανδρον . . αμ]φοτε[ραι]ς ταις χερσιν[

Here are three depositions of witnesses in an action brought by one Attalos for assault. The facts occurred in a suburb of Crocodilopolis called the "approaches," or "the additional estate of Aristippus." Or else the *προσφορα* may have some special sense hitherto unknown. (3) seems to refer to an assault of Lamiske upon Attalus; (4) to an assault of the same woman on Timandros. But who this Lamiske was, or whether she was represented in law by a *κύριος*, we are not told.

Very curious is the use of *οπωπα* (if my reading be right) and *εωρακα* in the same document (3) ll. 7, 9. The difficulty in this hand arises from the desire of the writer to run each letter into the next. Thus his π, η, σ, τ, δ, all end with a horizontal line reaching the next letter, but always at the top. I have already explained in Part I. how the upper level of the writing of this period corresponds to the lower level in ours. The last printed fragment (4) is very much effaced in the effort to wash off its coating of mud, and many of the readings are doubtful.

XVIII.

CHARGE OF APOLLONIOS AGAINST KOTYS FOR ASSAULT, 246 B.C

(1)

N 3

Διονυσόδωρῳ οἰκονομῳ τῆς
 Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος παρὰ
 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Θεωνος ἐκ Πτο-
 λεμ[αίδος] τῆς νέας ἀδικ[ο]υ
 μαι υ[π]ὸ Κοτύος τοῦ Εὐηνό[υ] 5
 γραφῆς τῆς προγεγραμμένης
 . . .
 τοῦ μὲν? βλ. μηνος μεσορῆ καὶ
 λο[ιδορίας] μοι γενομένης πρὸς
 αὐτὸν Κοτύς πληγὰς μοι
 ἐνεβάλεν καὶ πλείους εἰς τε 10
 τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ εἰς τὸ σῶμα
 μου διὰ τὸ μ[η]? ἰσχυρεῖν
 αὐτὸν με κω[λυεῖν] καὶ ἀφρονή-
 σας διὰ τὸ [ο]υ[θελ] τε[. . .] ναι
 αὐτὸν [. . .] τι μὴ δυνασθᾶ[ι] ἀν 15
 λ[αβεῖν] παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δι[κ]α[ίον]
 διὰ τοῦ [δικα]στηρίου ἀξίω σε
 . . .] φε[. . .] . . . ἀνακαλεσάμεν

This very cursive hand contains many peculiarities, especially the occasional drawing of the Δ by a single, almost spiral, line commencing at the right top. It is, moreover, much washed away. But after long labour I am able to give the sense pretty clearly: "To Dionysodoros, the steward of the division of Herakleides, from Apollonios, son of Theon, living in the new Ptolemais. I am being ill-treated by Kotys, son of Euenos. The action against him above written of the 2nd year, 21st of Mesore, for abusive language, having taken place, Kotys struck me several times, both in the face and on the body, because I was not strong enough to hinder him; and being under the delusion, on account of his having [suffered no punishment?], that I cannot recover justice from him through the law courts, I therefore pray you, having summoned —." Now for the difficulties. In l. 6 there is rather too much room for the first ης. In l. 7 the first two words are very doubtful, and an illegible correction is written over them. In l. 12 the central μ looks just like a υ, so that τοῦ is possible. In l. 14 ουθεν is of course a guess, and the infinitive which follows I cannot restore. πεπονθεναι does not seem reconcilable with the vestiges: qu. αποπεφενυγναι. In l. 15 the top of a φ or ψ is visible over the gap. It seems too high for κ(ουκετι); but there is hardly room for εφ ωι, which seems required by the construction. The first word in l. 18 may be σκεψασθαι, but there is a little too much room. Still the spaces of the hand are very irregular.

We learn that the οἰκονομος had authority to investigate criminal cases on appeals. Is new Ptolemais the same as Ptolemais at the harbour? If so, according to Mr. Petrie's identification, the division of Herakleides was the south-east portion of the Fayyûm. Kotys was probably a Thracian veteran.

[58]

XVIII.

CHARGE OF APOLLONIOS AGAINST KOTYS FOR ASSAULT, 246 B.C.

(2 a)

Ω Ω 5 & 6

]θωνθ .
]μαρτυρω[
 Ηρακ]λειδου μ[εριδος
 † †
] . αφεσιν παντα δε μεταπεμ[πο]μενο[ν]
]γενομενου και εστηκοτος περαν[5
]και φασκοντος καταγραφειν οτι βιαζε[ται
]ν εχομενος δε σκαφειον και σφυριδα δ . . ην[
 τ]αγματος του κεχωσμενου ο απεχει ως ει[
]απτεν το χωμα του ε . . αγματος[
]εως καλεσαμενου Σηρ[αμβου 10
 ιωι Ση

(2 b)

Απολλ]οδωρος αφεις (τα *erased*) το σκαφει[ον
 εκ των οπισ[θεν] συ . ε . . ν και απεσπα απο του χωματος[
 δε εσκαπτ . ν Απο[λλ]οδωρος δε προωθων Σηραμβον κασ[εσ]εβ[ιαζετο
 επι προσωπον εντος του χωματος και επιτεσων ετυπτεν
 αυ]τ[ο]ν κατα του τραχηλου και εις ο μέρος τυχοι του [σωματος 15
 ε]ως αφηκεν Σ[ηρ]αμβος δε (*erasure*) διαναστας ομ[
]ς δε επιτιμωντος Απολλοδωρου και
 Σηρα]μβου

This is the deposition of the witness of an assault committed by one Apollodoros on Serambos. Probably the latter was a native overseer, and the Greek under his orders was contumacious. But of course we have only one side of the affair; it is deposed that Apollodoros knocked Serambos down, and beat him severely. The workmen on the embankment were provided with a mattock and basket, evidently piling up or repairing a mound of clay. There are a few erasures, but quite legible, and apparently proper corrections of oversights in writing. The papyrus and the writing of the two fragments leave hardly a doubt that they are part of the same document. In the second we have almost the whole length of the lines. In ll. 14 and 15 the full line is there, if I have supplied the next word *αυρον* correctly. There is a broad margin at the left side. Another short fragment exists, but of no value for the sense.

[59]

XIX.

PETITIONS FROM PRISONERS.

(1 a)

SS I

Διονυσιος Κλεωνυμωι χαιρειν αξιω
σε μετα δεησεως και ικετειας ουνε-
κα του θεου και του καλως εχοντος
δους τα πιστα μηζα ? κωι μηθεν με
ειρηκεναι σοι καθ αυτου μηδεποτε
ατοπον οπερ και αληθινον εστιν και
ως αν τουτο ποιησης αξιωσας αυτον
με]ταπεμψασθαι με και διεσθαι
απο της] φυ[λα]κης συνεχομαι γαρ εμ
]ων ουθεν των δεοντων

5

(And another fragment, evidently the conclusion of the same letter :)

(1 b)

A Z I

ως ? τον παρα τοις θεοις
συμ]βηι μοι καταφθαρηναι εν
[τηι φυλακη]ι ?
ερρωσο

(2)

A Z 2

. . . οντας . . . αβασ
σοι αφελ[ομ]ενος ? καλως ουμ ποιησεις ε[πι-
στροφην [μου π]οιησαμενος ερρειμαι γαρ κακως
διακειμενος απ εκεινου [κ]αι ? ουτε εργανην
εστιν ευρειν δια την εν[εστ]ωσαν ? κακιαν
του μαλακιεσθαι π[]αλλα κατε-
φθαρται μου το εργαστηριον χρονόν ουκ ολιον
δεομαι ουν σου βοηθησαι μοι ινα μη συμβηι μοι
και εν τη φυλακη καταφθαρηναι μη ανα- ?
πληρωσαντα

5

ερρωσο

These two letters of petition are a class frequently represented among the present papers. The former supplicates "in the name of God and of fair play." διεσθαι (l. 8) means to dismiss or set free from prison. The second writer was under the obligation to supply work within the terms of a contract, which he finds impossible on account of the laziness of his workmen. But he apprehends long imprisonment if he fails. From this and other such documents, it appears that defaulters were liable in person, as well as in goods—a state of the law contrary to old Egyptian custom. ολιον for ολιγον occurs elsewhere in these papyri.

The handwriting of (2) is very peculiar, and most difficult to read.

[60]

R I *Five columns partially preserved—the whole height and width, but with gaps and erasures, viz. :—*

First column—recto.

Πτολεμαιοι επ[ι]μελητηι παρα Θεοφιλου
του παρ Αντικλεους προς τηι εξαγωγηι του
εν τωι αρσινωιτηι β
σιτου υπο των δι αυτ[ου ?] πλοιων

Πινυρις και Εριαν [. .] πιν και (erasure ? of names)
ναυπηγοι γινομ[εν]οι εν τωι αρσινωιτηι προς 6
επισκευηι τηι τ υ του προς λ
τηι των πλοιων [. . .] ξαι εν (erasure) τον β στην (σιτου ?)
προλαβοντες π[αρα] τε Πτολεμαίου ? παρα ? του
Ασκλη[ηπι]αδου . . [. . .] εις εργα των καινων πλοιων
και ελω . εις την [ε]πισκευην των δι Αντικλεους 10
εξεδη]μησαν εις ηρακλεους πολιν και συν
ε]σχεν αυτους Ηρακλειδης ο αρχιφυλακιτης
Πτολεμαίου δε . [. .] (erasure) εντυχοντος Ηρα-
κλειδη[ι] τωι οικον[ομ]ωι και την χρεϊαν προφερομενου
εγραψεν τ]ωι Η[ρακ]λειδηι τωι αρχιφ^υ διεσθαι αυτους
επει και αυτος επεσχον του εντυχειν 15

We have here the remains of five consecutive columns, written very carelessly, and corrected so frequently by the writer, that they must clearly be the rough copy of an official correspondence. There are a good many words and letters blurred, so that I have not yet been able to guess their meaning; and I gladly reproduce two columns (the third and fourth columns), in order that more fortunate or abler decipherers may conquer where I have failed. I shall proceed to details, justifying my transcription.

First column (*recto*).—Here the *verso* is perfectly blank.

It is a complaint from Theophilos, agent of Antikles, concerning the arrest of the crews occupied in carrying wheat. There is room left after και, l. 4, for a third and fourth name. Over the των, in l. 3, is written εν τωι αρσινωιτηι β, i. e. βασιλικου (sc. σιτου). This and the previous line are very short, so that they leave a large blank in the papyrus. There are here, however, faint signs of an erasure of some previous writing. L. 6 has two separate superscriptions, of which επισκευηι and του προς, followed by a *sigle* not known to me, are plain. But the rest is most uncertain. I may notice that the writer's εη, επ, εις are only distinguishable by the sense. It seems that part of the traffic-boats were new; the remainder required repairs (επισκευη). In the plural this word would mean marine stores. The sailors (in the boats?) went for repairs to Herakleopolis, where Herakleides, the chief of the police, arrested them (συνεσχεν). One of the people concerned having an interview with another and superior Herakleides, the οικονομος, or [61]

XX.

MINUTES OF OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE, 252 B.C.

royal steward of the nome, the latter sent word to Herakleopolis to dismiss or liberate (διδεσθαι from διημι) the workmen or sailors. I read αυτούς at the end of line 14, noting that in this hand του appears as τυ. In the next line we can explain the erasure. In the line was written εις την Ηρακλειους πολιν. Then εις την, and -ους πολιν are erased, and for the latter -ιδι τωι αρχιφ^ο substituted. The superscript at the beginning of the line seems to be]τωι, but I am not sure. This message was sent by letter, "since I (adds the writer) refrained from having a personal interview with him;

Second column.

νυνι δε πυνθανομαι τον Ηρακλειδην μη προσεσχη
 κεναι τη Ηρακλειδου του οικονομου επιστοληι εαν ^{του διδεσθαι?}
 μη η συ η ο διοικητης αυτωι γραψ[η]ι (αξιω ουν σε εαν σοι
 (φαινεται εμβλεψαντα) (επει ου[ν σ]υμβεβηκεν απο τε του)
 (αγοραστου και του φορικου πληθη σιτου επι[πεπ]τωκεναι α δει) 5
 ινα ουν μη η εξαγωγή του σιτου (erasure) επισταθην των
 πλοιων μη επισ[κε]ναζομενων υπο χερα και ταυτα ικανον
 τιμος πληθους [επ]ιπεπτωκοτος απο τε του αγοραστου
 και του φορικου αξ[ιω] σε εαν σοι φαινεται . . . ντο . .
 γραψαι Ηρακλει[δ]ηι τωι εν τωι νομωι αρχιφ^ο διδεσθαι . . . ? 10
 οπως γινονται προς τη[ν] χρε[ι]αι και μη αργη τα πλοια
 οιμαι γαρ μηδε σ[ε] αγ[νοειν] οτι του υποθε[?]αν
 σιτου επι τη επι . . . και βουκων? κεκδοχια?
 υποζυγιων εξελθην? (erasure) διαφορον αν ε[σ]εσθαι
 παρα τας ρ(αρ)? εL

but now I learn," he continues, "that Herakleides (the policeman) has not attended to the letter of Herakleides the steward ('to liberate them' superscribed), unless either you or the διοικητης"—another high financial officer—"write to him." Then follows a passage in which the writer has enclosed several clauses in brackets, to show that he meant to alter them, and indeed his writing is very repetitious and involved. "I therefore think it right that you—if you approve of it after examination, since it has happened that a quantity of wheat, as was due, has come in, both of wheat for sale, and wheat for taxes, in order that the transport of the wheat may not be delayed, the boats not being repaired so as to be ready, and this when a large quantity of market and tax wheat has come in—I think it right if it so appear to you to write to Herakleides, the chief policeman in the nome, to liberate [the workmen] in order (a line inserted between 11 and 12) that they may be where they are wanted, and the boats may not be idle. For I think that you too must know" — and here the text becomes so fragmentary that I can offer no further translation. The words will not be deciphered till the general sense has been discovered. If there be indeed βουκολων κωμην in line 12 it is written very badly, and the letters not formed. But only the first words in any of the last three lines are certain. The second *sigle* in the last line probably stands for *arīabæ*.

[62]

XX.

MINUTES OF OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE, 252 B.C.

Third column.

[Autotyped.]

Ηφαιστιω[νι] ει ερρωσαι και ους προσυρει? καλως αν εχοι
 κ ^{υσαντος}]νον αναπλε (erasure) Θεογενους αναπλεων?
 (τος? μου? [. Απολλωνιω] τον Ζεφυρον αποστελλεσθαι
 (επιπλεων? . . . οθεν και αυτος καταπλευσας εις πε . . ?
 (προσπεσοντος μενωι τωι) (επυνθανομην []
^{εν τωι θεογενους| αναπλωι?}
 ακουσας Ζεφυρον αποστελλεσθαι επι των εργαων?
 κατεπλευσα| εις Μεμφιν πυνθανομενου δε μου
 (της?) του παραντου| ευ τι συντεθεικως αυτωι ειης επι . . . ?
^{κατα το? υπομνημα| ου . ελιπ . . . ει}
 περι . . . ουκ| εφησαν οθεν αν . προς ενα ανευρειν?
^{σ . συν}
 και αναμνησας α[υτους] της επιστολης ης εγραψας 10
 ηξιωσα συνστησαι ουδεν δε αυτου ποιησαντος
^{Ζεφυρον}
 συνεβη εν επισχεσε[ι] γενεσθα[ι] (erasure) αξιω
^{φροντισαι περι μου}
 ουν σε [(erasure)]
^{ηδη επι της ελπιδος}
 ου γαρ ευγνωμων εστι . . . υπαρχοντος (απραγ . . υν
 (και γαρ ετερων οφρυσθμ[. .] εω) δε . ουτως α . . []ι 15

The above column, though found separately, fits precisely to the earlier column. I consider that the termination of the previous column, having the last line more than half blank, as well as the Ηφαιστιω[νι] with which this one opens, show that a new document began here. The writing is the same, and there are here, too, brackets, erasures, and superscriptions. The opening of the next column shows that this document also ended here.

In l. 1 the word apparently written *προσυρει* is very perplexing. In l. 2 *αναπλεων* is changed into *αναπλευσαντος*. The general sense is that Zephyros was sent up the river with Theogenes to do some business for the writer. For some reasons, which I cannot make out, Zephyros was arrested. The writer apparently asks for his release.

Fourth column.

[Autotyped.]

Λε φαωφι ιζ̄

Ηρακλειδῃ οικονομῳ παρα Θεοφίλου του παρ Αντικλεους του

προς τη εξαγωγή του β̄ σιτου των δι αυτου πλ[οι]ων

του υπαρχοντος λεμβου Αντικλει εν τω β̄ υποδοχωι

Γ ητ εφ ου ἡγερτις αγγαρευθεντος υπο σου εν Πτολε

5

μαιδι ^{της ῑ του αυτου μηνος} συνεπειξα σοι ^{της ιᾱ} επι του Λαβυρινθου αξιων^(επαυρη)
αφειναι του δε φησαντος χρειαυ αυτου ειναι προς^{ωστε τοις εν μεμφει λεφασιν}
τη καταγωγή? (και ου . λυσιτελες ειναι το ?

(ξει πλειων γαρ ληψεσ[θαι] των σιτικων πλοιων?)

(παρα των ηργολαβηκοτων)

10

εμου δε προσενεγκαμενου σοι

επειδη εργολαβιας γεγενημενης περι σιτου καταγωγης?

του αποστελλομενου εις Μεμφιν ησαπο τοις ελε[φ]ασιν

συ αγγαρευσας τον Αντικλεους λεμβον Γ ητ εφ ου[ηγε]ρτις

παρεσταλκες αυτοις αξιωσα εαν σοι φαινεται επαναπ[εμπειν]

15

]σιτικα τα συνχωρη[θεντα]

In this document, which is crossed out with two great diagonal lines, there are many allusions of interest. We have the same Antikles who was entrusted with the transport of the wheat in the first column; and he is stated to have a post boat for his use, which had a peculiar title I cannot explain, and belonged to the 3rd Hipparchy. This boat was despatched as a post boat—the old Persian word *αγγαρευω* which Herodotus quotes, here appears—which is sent as far as the labyrinth, to ask Herakleides to give up to the writer transport-boats. A short proper name was apparently written over *του* in l. 7. Consequently the labyrinth must have been situated, as Mr. Petrie urged long ago, beside the main canal leading out of the Fayyûm to Memphis. The object of the present mission was to supply food for the elephants stationed at Memphis—another curious detail. There is a good deal more to be deciphered, which I have merely indicated by dots. β in l. 3 is over the line. Over l. 16 are corrections which I cannot read.

Fifth column.

(R 1), written in a still worse scrawl, but on the same papyrus, in a like column, is to me as yet undecipherable.

It does not begin a document, but with *μηδε εκεινα*. A great part of the column remains there, with only the ends of the lines torn away, but the whole is in such a condition that I cannot transcribe it. It appears from the phrase *γραφαι τοις της . . κ φ αφειναι αυτα* (ll. 11, 12) to refer to the same dispute, and then *αυτα* would mean *πλοια*, which the police of the *κωμη* are to liberate. But this is only a guess.

Interesting is the subordination of the officers: 1, the *διοικητης*; 2, the *επιμελητης*; 3, the *οικονομος*; 4, the *αρχιφυλακτης*, who seems to have somewhat independent control. We have also (XXV. (a)) an *επιστατης των κατα την χωραν*, or local director. The words *αγοραστος* and *φορικος* (second column, ll. 5, 8, 9), of which the sense is quite plain, are also practically new to us. The former occurs in some glossary, but neither of them have yet been found in spoken or literary Greek. On the back of the second and third columns is an effaced text, in large writing, about money matters. On the *verso* of the fourth column is a text of the same nature, but in small cursive writing, which might possibly be deciphered.

XXI.

LEGAL DISPUTE ABOUT A LOAN.

(a)

Top of column.

(b)

Q Q

]μον ειναι δικην α[
]αν ημεραις? δεκα δ[ραχμας ?[
]τλωι γραφεισαν εν η[ι
] . τιους οτι νν αντια[
]οιδαν μη α[
]επιμεν[
]κε[

(a blank)

]μηπ[
]οτε ορκος ος[] [
]φει χρησθαι αυθι[s
 δραδ αλλα γνωμηι τ[
 ημιν των διαγραμματος[
 και της συγγραφης επεν[συγγρα
 φοφυλακος κυριας ακολο[υθ

(c)

Σω]ταιρον
]δια συγγραφ[ης
 Δ]ιογενης ος[
]περι ης επερ[
]συνηγορουν[τος
]ωνημεν η

]εναντιωι[
]εμια ? πτολεμαιο . . απρ[. .]εους
 [] Ασκληπιωδωρος
]ν ενακίος υπο ? τελης Θεοφανης
 σος Διονυσιος
 (apparently a heading)
]εγνωμεν ομοι . . ομονουντες
 συγγραφ]ης ης εγραψατο Σωταιρος Σωσωι
 εγ]κλημα τοδε Σωταιρος Φωκευς
 Σωσωι Κωιωι [της] ε ητ ρΑ καθα
 παρα μου * * τ
 συγγραφ
 αιτων
 .
 .
 μαρ[τυρες

XXI.

LEGAL DISPUTE ABOUT A LOAN.

(d)

Ω Ω Ι

ν Σωταιρωι ι

New column.

μαρτ]υρει Σωταιρωι Διογενης Ξενωνος

συ

της ε]πιγονης παρων εν Θεογονιδι του

και α

Αρσινοι]του [εL μηνος λωιου

και χ

επε]ι επεγραφην μαρτυς επι συγγραφη[ι

5

. καθ ην εδανεισεν Σωταιρος Σωσωι

δραχμας]τ ? . της δε συγγραφης σφραγισθει[σης

υπο Σ]ωταιρου και Σωσου και εμου και των συν-

γρα]φεντων μοι μαρτυρων εδωκεν εμ[οι

] και Σωσος την συγγραφην κυριαν φυλασσειν

10

και οταν] ηι το δικαστηριον Σωταιρωι δι

δοναι η] Σωσωι ? καθ ου μαρτυρω

και ?] συγγραφης αντιγραφα τα υπογεγρα[αμμενα

] τοδε και Σωταιρος και αλλο μερος εκ της

] ο αλλα τοσου εστιν μερος τοδε εαν τε

15

Foot of column.

This is the evidence of Diogenes, a witness of the contract by which Sotairos had lent to Sosos a sum of money. The conditions of the loan not being fulfilled, Sotairos takes an action, and brings up Diogenes to give evidence of the facts. I have endeavoured in vain to bring these fragments, which undoubtedly belong to the same document, into order and connexion. In (c), l. 10, the sigle is the usual one for *πυρου*, and then either *απραβας* or *αρουρας*—most likely the former. The amount lent seems to be 300 (τ) drachmæ.

In (d), l. 4, the ι of 15, is curiously formed (and so printed). It appears that in this case there was no official keeper of records (*συγγραφοφυλαξ*), though the word appears in (b) 7, but that one of the witnesses was appointed to act in this capacity.

[67]

XXII.

DECREE REGARDING THE TRESPASSING OF CATTLE.

Z B

το]υς τοπαρχ[ους
 κριματα κ[α]θηκει εις τους φορους η τα[.]ενα[.
 αλλ η τον νομαρχην μετα του στρατηγου εαν δε τις
 . . αβει . αυτων κρινη η κριθη ακυρα εστω 5
 . . εμβηι ? βους ? η υποζυγιον η προβατον η αλλο τι
 Ιεν ? εις αλλοτριον κληρον η παραδεισιν
 η κηπον η β?α η κατανεμη η κατα-
 βλαψη αποτισατω ουτος ? τωι βλαφθεντι το βλα-
 βος ο αν καταβλαψη εκ κρισεως τα κρισεως δε μη- 10
 θεις ενεχυραζετω μηδε αποβιαζεσθω μηδεν
 παρ ου εισεβ? δε εστω ? των τοπ[ων ?
 ι . σμη ? αποτεισατω . . Λ̂ και ο αν ενε-
 χυρασεν ει αποδοτω τωι κυριωι π[αρα ?
 χρη[μα ?] . επαναγκαζετω δε αυτον ο πρακτωρ 15
 ο επι των βασιλικ[ων] προσοδων τεταγμενος

I found this document with an elegiac fragment to be printed in the sequel pasted across it, and it was impossible to separate them without damaging both texts. Some traces of the elegiacs are still to be seen crossing this legal ordinance, but only in one line have they sufficed to help us in the partial deciphering of that poem. The gaps in the above transcription are therefore caused by blurring and effacement, not by rents in the papyrus. With infinite pains have I made out what stands above, and think that by good conjectures the remainder may be fairly restored. The general sense is plain. It ordains that all cases of trespass of cattle on farms, pleasure-grounds, or gardens—mark the distinctions—are to be settled, not by seizure of the cattle, or by violence, but by legal proceedings, and settled by a fine. This fine is on no account to be evaded by giving security, but must be actually paid, under penalty of a fine of 1000 drachmæ, in addition to the loss of the security. The officer who is in charge of the recovery of State debts is to secure this payment. The effacements make it as yet impossible to specify further details. The reader will observe that I have inserted many queries, and that he is at liberty in all such places to substitute other letters of like space and general appearance. But the handwriting is large and good, so that the number of letters missing is more easy to determine than is ordinarily the case. To attempt an autotype would be quite hopeless.

From the general form I take it to be a *προσταγμα* or royal ordinance. The loss of the opening lines is greatly to be deplored. But we have it down to the end; nor is there any question about the breadth of the lines, which in many cases are complete.

[68]

AA 22

Probably a letter from a farm-steward to his employer, stating that he had already announced that "the rye and the barley had been smitten" with hail (P). The present communication is concerning the means of embarking his crop on the canal, or something of the kind. The hand is very bad, and the lines irregular. The writer's *a* and *η* are hardly distinguishable.

A B 3

Hence Asklepiades was the "Royal Secretary" of the province. The letter probably refers to an assault of Xenon upon some native. The hand is fine and clear; but only a scrap is preserved.

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XXIII.

FRAGMENTS OF LETTERS.

(3)

EE I *Long, narrow strip ; very cursive hand.*

Λυσιμαχος
 Σωσιφανει χαι-
 ρειν εγραψα σοι
 και προτερον
 οπως επιστολην
 τινα ην σοι απεσ-
 τειλα αποστει-
 λης ρωιρριωι ? εχον-
 τα τινα παρα σου
 και αντιγραφα
 λαβειν και ου-
 κ εφροντισας και
 δος σου

(4)

E 67

Ηρακλειδης Ανδροσθενει χαιρειν καλως αν ποιησαις καταγραφας
 την οικιαν του Ωρου του Αρθωυθου εις Ασκληπιαδην γεγραφεν δε
 και Φιλεασκομωνι περι τουτων μη ουν αλλως ποιησης

This and the previous scrap are specimens of two common fashions of writing, the one to write *down* a very narrow strip, so that each line does not average three words ; the other to write very long lines *along* such a strip. In the latter case the whole letter is personal, and seems to be a warning to enter on a catalogue (for taxes ?) the house of an Egyptian, which was possibly omitted for improper reasons, perhaps for a bribe. But it seems that in this case Asklepiades, the State Secretary, had found out the omission. Phileaskomon is a strange name, but the writing is quite clear.

[70]

XXIV.

A CURIOUS DATE.

EE 2

βασιλευοντος Πτολεμ[αιου του Πτολε
 μαιου και του υιου Πτολεμαιο[υ L ?
 εφ ιερεως Πελο[πιδου] εξ[
 Αλεξανδρου και θε[.]ς α[
 φορου μνηδι? . . . ης της τε

I put this extraordinary dating here, for which I can find no parallel. It is dated at the moment when some Ptolemy was ruling in conjunction with his son. This is known to have been nominally the case during the earlier years of Philadelphus, when his father Soter had abdicated, and lived at court as a private man, but was still named in public Acts as the king. We also know that Ptolemy IV. (Philopator) associated his son (Epiphanes) with the crown when Epiphanes was but an infant (cf. Revillout in *Rev. égypt.* III., p. 2). But no other document in the collection has any such date, and I cannot but think it possible that it is from the closing year of Ptolemy II., when his son may have been associated with him. The practice was so common as to be almost a rule in after days. But then there is no *κανηφορος* in our text, for in l. 4 there is room for α[δελφων, but no more. I have denoted the shape of the papyrus, which is not broken at the edges, and which has a broad blank margin at both sides. *θειων* α[δελφων is possible, though I cannot see the ν, and if so, *φορου* must stand by itself.

According to Revillout (*Rev. égypt.* I., pp. 12, 13, 22) demotic contracts show that Philadelphus kept up the official fiction that his father was still king, and that he himself was only associated, for nearly twenty years after Soter was dead! If this be indeed so, then we have here merely a date of Philadelphus earlier than any other in the Petrie papyri. But then, according to Revillout, the Canephoros of Arsinoe was created in the 19th year of that king, and the priest of Alexander not till the 21st, as there are mentions of the former (in the former year) without the latter. In the present case we have no Canephoros, and yet a priest of Alexander, which contradicts Revillout's evidence, and makes me suspect that either of the eponymous priesthoods might be omitted from negligence. I have looked in vain for a Pelopidas among the priests of Alexander in the extant Ptolemaic papyri, but have been unable to find the name, which might solve our difficulties.

[71]*

XXV.

RECEIPTS OF VETTURINI FOR THE KEEP OF HORSES AND GROOMS.

F 86

(a)

Κ]εφαλων ηνιοχος εις λυσιν ? και
 ιππ ?]ων ιγ

Λκα τυβι κδ ομολογει Κεφαλων ηνιοχος εχειν
 παρα Χαρμου του παρ Ασκληπιαδου οικονομου
 εμ Πτολεμειδι τη επι του ορμου κατα την παρα Αρτεμωνος 5
 του επιστατου των κατα την χωραν εντολην εις αρματα
 τα ακολουθουντα αυτωι ε Ϡ ε και συνωριδας γ Ϡ γ
 εις αυτον και ηνιοχους ζ εκαστωι αρτων καθαρων χ^α
 /d χ^β ελαιου εκαστωι d/κβ οινου εκαστωι κδ /χ^β κη^β
 και εις ιπποκομους ιγ εκαστωι αρτων αυτοπυρων χ^β 10
 /κς ελαιου εκαστωι η /κ ασή και εις τοεντας ?
 δελφακα και εις ιππον ενοχλουμενον εγλοθηεντα
 εις χρισιν κγ οινου κγ και εις παρακαυσιν
 εις λυχνους κικιος κβ .

(The end.)

This is the first of a series of documents, of which Mr. Sayce perceived the sense, and of which he solved almost all the difficulties. The abbreviation Ϡ for *horses* was not known heretofore. This paper is the receipt of the *vetturino* Kephalon for the keep of horses and drivers employed in the service of the steward Asklepiades: "Year 21 (of the 3rd Ptolemy, 226 B.C.), Tybi 24. Kephalon the charioteer acknowledges the receipt from Charmos, agent of the steward Asklepiades at Ptolemais which is at the harbour, according to the order from Artemon, the local overseer: viz. for the chariots which accompanied him, 5 of 5 horses, and 3 of 3 horses; for himself and 7 (other) drivers, to each of fine bread $\frac{1}{4}$ of a chœnix, makes 2 chœnixes; of (olive) oil to each $\frac{1}{4}$ (of a kotyle), makes 2 kotyles; of wine to each 4 kotyles, makes 2 χοες and 8 kotyles; and for 13 grooms to each of whole-meal bread 2 chœnixes, makes 26 chœnixes; of oil to each $\frac{1}{8}$, makes $1 + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8}$ kotyles; and for a young pig, and for a sick horse embrocated, for the lotion of oil 3 kotyles, of wine 3 kotyles, and for lighting (or burning), for lights, of castor oil 2 kotyles."

This is the general sense. I cannot read the end of l. 1. The chœnix seems denoted by χ^α. At the opening of l. 9, the signs for $\frac{1}{4}$ (which is originally a δ') and that for γινεται are misplaced by oversight of the scribe. 12 kotyles make up 1 χος, so that we have (l. 9), 2 χ. 8 κ. = 32 kotyles in all. The last word in l. 11 I cannot read, and it might explain what was the use of the sucking-pig (?). In l. 13 παρακαυσις may either mean mere lighting by night or the firing of the sick horse; the close connexion of the two in the sister documents makes me prefer the latter. κικι (castor) oil was always used for lamps. The grooms were a lower class, and got poorer fare than the drivers, coarser bread, and half the amount of olive oil, without any wine. All the rations are small, as the chœnix of corn was recognized as a fair daily allowance in Greece.

[72]*

F 82

(b)

[Autotyped.]

Λκα [μ]εχιρ γ̄ ^{αωε}απο τυβι κδ̄ εως μεχιρ γ̄ Κεφαλων ηνιοχος
 εις [ην]ιοχους β και εις ιππους σ και ιπποκομους ῑ . . . ?

Λκα μεχιρ γ̄ [ομολογε]ι Κεφαλων ηνιοχος εχειν
 παρα Χαρμου του παρ Ασκληπιαδου οικονομου του αρσιν ? (*very effaced here*)
 νομου εμ Πτολεμαιοι ? τη ? [εις ηνιοχους] 5
 δυο τους υπολειφθεντας εμ Πτολεμαιοι απο κε̄ του
 τυβι εως μεχιρ γ̄ εκαστωι την ημεραν αρτων
 σεμιδαλιτων χ̄ / ^αχ̄ ^βοινου κδ̄ / ^γκη ελαιου δ̄ / ^δκλ̄
 ημερων δε θ̄ αρτων [] ? ^εκλ̄ ^ζοινου ^ηελαιου κδ̄
 και εις ιπποκομους τους δ̄ εκαστωι αρτων αυτοπυρων 10
^βχ̄ / ^γελαιου εκαστωι η̄ / ^δκλ̄ ημερων δε θ̄
 καλδ̄ ^εελαιου κδ̄ και εις ιππον ενοχλουμενον
 εγλοθηεντα και φλεβοτομηθεντα απο κσ̄ του τυβι
 εως λ̄ την ημεραν οινου καλ̄ ελαιου καλ̄
 ημερων δε ε̄ ελαιου κζ̄ οινου κζ̄ και εις 15
 παρακασιν την ημεραν κικιος κλ̄ κβλ̄ [(*corrected from δλ̄*) . . .]
 ενοχληθεντι απο ᾱ του μεχιρ εως γ̄ την
 ημεραν ελαιου κα / ^γκγ̄ οινου κα / ^δκδ̄
 και εις τους παραγενομενους μετα Αρτεμωνος
 ηνιοχους σ̄ εκαστωι αρτων σεμιδαλι[των 20
] / ^εκδ̄ και εις ιππους

Heading.—"Year 21, Mechir 3rd. From (απο written through εως) Tybi 24th to Mechir 3rd. Kephalon the driver (vetturino) for 2 drivers and for 6 horses and 10 grooms." [*A blank space, then.*] *Text.*—"Year 21, Mechir 3rd. Kephalon the driver [acknowledges] the receipt from Charmos, the agent of Asklepiades [the steward of the nome], in Ptolemais [at the harbour]. [For the *drivers*, viz.] the 2 left in Ptolemais, from the 25th of Tybi till 3rd of Mechir, for each, per day, of fine loaves, 1 chœnix / makes 2; of wine, 4 pints / makes 8; of oil $\frac{1}{2}$ pint / $\frac{1}{2}$ pint—but this for 9 days comes to: in bread, [18] ? chœnixes; in wine, 3 measures; in oil, $4\frac{1}{2}$ pints; and for 4 grooms, for each, of whole-meal bread, 2 measures / makes 8; of oil, to each, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint / makes $\frac{1}{2}$ pint. This, for 9 days, comes to $\kappā 1 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}$ [^{βγ}κ,] in oil, $4\frac{1}{2}$ pints. And for a disabled horse, bathed, and having blood let, from 26th Tybi to 30th, per diem, $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints of wine, $1\frac{1}{2}$ of oil, for 5 days, comes to $7\frac{1}{2}$ pints of oil, $7\frac{1}{2}$ of wine; and for singeing, per day, $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of κικι oil / comes to $2\frac{1}{2}$ pints. But for [the horse] disabled, from 1st to 3rd Mechir, per diem, 1 pint of oil / 3 pints, 1 of wine / 3 pints, and for the drivers, 6, who came with Artemon, to each of fine bread —." The oblique line stands for γινεται.

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI, PART II.

K [73]

(c)

F 81

(An effaced line.)

και ε[ις] παρακα[νσι]ν κικιος κα και . . . [εις]
 δελφακα και εις δεοντα αρμασι ε η̄ γ
 και ιππωι περιοντι α / ιπποι ις εκαστωι χορτου
 δεσμας BAN η / της ημερας ΔΕ ρκη απο δε
 μεχιρ \bar{a} εως $\bar{\gamma}$ ΔΕ τπδ και εις τα παρα-
 γενομενα τη $\bar{\gamma}$ αρματα ε η̄ β συνωριδας
 γ η̄ γ τοις πασιν ιπποις ιθ εκαστωι χερτου
 BAN ΔΕ η ρνβ και τη $\bar{\delta}$ ωσαντως εις ιππους
 λε χορτου ΔΕ BAN Σπ

There is subscribed the following (printed from a complete duplicate):—

F 80

ομολογει Κεφαλων ηνιοχος εχειν παρα Χαρμου το[ν]
 οικονομου τον χορτον και τα δεοντα τοις [τε] ηνι-
 οχοις και ιππομοις κα[τα σ]υνγεγραμμενα

Translation.—"And for the burning [of lights] of κικι oil (castor oil), 1 kotyle; and for a porker, and for the needful for 5 chariots, each of 3 horses, and for 1 horse over—in all, 16 horses—for each, 8 bundles of fodder—makes 128 bundles per day; but from Meehir 1st to 3rd, 384 bundles; and for the carriages which came on the 3rd, viz. 5 each of 2 horses, 3 yokes of 3 horses each—making in all 19 horses—to each at the rate of 8 bundles of fodder = 152 bundles; and on the 4th inst., likewise, for the 35 horses, 280 bundles of fodder."

"Kephalon, the coachman, acknowledges receipt from Charmos, the steward, of the fodder and requirements for the drivers and grooms (it is miswritten for ιππο(κο)μοις), and the items cited therewith." There is no room for the article before συγγεγραμμενα.

(d)

G 112 (*Upper part almost destroyed, ending:—*)

^{αλ}
 χ / δ χ και εις αν . . . α εκαστωι §/ε
 και εις ιμαντας ελαιου κα

ομολογει Ωρος εχειν παρα Χαρμου τα δεοντα
 κατα συμβολον τουτο εγραψεν ειταψεος? Ωρου
 συνταξαντος δια το μη επιστασθαι
 γραμματα

G 118 (*Tells us that Ωρος was a donkey boy, viz.:—*)

ομολογει Ωρος ονηλατης εχειν
 παρα Χαρμου δεοντα
 υποζυγιων κατα συμβολον

These curious texts contain receipts for supply *in kind* as diet of the horses and men which accompanied (I think) Asklepiades, the oeconomus, and Artemon, the local *επιστατης*; but the receipts are to Charmos, the agent or steward of Asklepiades. The place designated is the "Ptolemais at the harbour." The first thing which strikes us is the number of horses and chariots, and the size of the yokes, which are here enumerated. I can only understand *αρματα* with 5 horses to mean carts carrying heavy loads, which implies good roads, or less canal traffic than we should have expected. Perhaps these carts were used to bring the produce in kind, which formed a large part of the taxes, to Ptolemais at the harbour. If we take the receipts in their order—indeed they overlap in dates—the first of them (*a*) r 86, which is dated 24th Tybi, in the 21st year (of the 3rd Ptolemy, viz. 226 B.C.), accounts for the feeding of 35 horses (one of them sick, and treated specially), 8 coachmen, and 13 grooms, or horseboys, in charge of 5 carts, with 5 horses each, and 3 carriages, with 3 each. The charioteers, or coachmen, get a choenix of fine wheat made into bread, daily—the old allowance for a man's food mentioned by Herodotus—also 2 kotylæ of wine and a small quantity of olive oil. The grooms get coarse

[75]

XXV.

RECEIPTS OF VETTURINI FOR THE KEEP OF HORSES AND GROOMS.

bread and no wine. What the young pig was required for is unfortunately effaced (the last word of (a), l. 9). The cure of the horse includes oil and wine (externally), as well as firing or singeing, for which castor oil is used.

The next, (b) \mathfrak{F} 82, in the same hand, and mentioning the same people, covers the following 9 days, but the number of horses and men is not the same. The number of coachmen is indeed still 8, but made up of 2 and 6 who came separately. There is still one sick horse, and there are only 4 grooms; but the text is incomplete, and the missing men and horses may have been accounted for in the remainder. The allowances to the men are the same. There is here and there some difficulty about the figures, perhaps owing to blunders of the scribe, but in general the arithmetic is quite clear.

The third text, (c) \mathfrak{F} 81, gives the account for the horses' fodder—in all, 35 horses—thus corresponding with (a), though the arrangement of carts is different. The 3 carriages of 3 horses remain, the 5 of 5 are changed into 5 of 3, and 2 of 5 horses, leaving a horse to spare. There is a sick horse, not the same, for the dates overlap, and the horses seem to get green fodder. There are two new abbreviations for $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\iota$ and $\beta\omicron\rho\alpha\nu\eta\varsigma$, which Mr. Sayce deciphered. In a scrap of the same writing (\mathfrak{F} 83), however, we can still see $\kappa\rho\iota\theta\omega\nu$, oats. Most unfortunately, not a single money price is given, otherwise this would be a text of primary importance. The whole payment was in kind.

On a separate fragment we found, in the same hand, receipts from a donkey-driver, Horos, to the same Charmos. The details are lost, all except oil for greasing straps. Horos, who was unable to write, employs a scribe, evidently an Egyptian, to do it for him. The name of this scribe, (d) 4, is to me illegible. I must not forget to add that the full form of receipt in the documents just discussed is supplied from a separate scrap (\mathfrak{F} 80), which contains them uneffaced, and is evidently a separate subscription. The remainder of these documents are very much effaced, and most difficult to read. Mr. Sayce made the first general decipherment, and explained the *sigles*. I have added a good many words which he had left blank, and have completed the arithmetic. The circular form for $\Sigma = 200$, which is almost like a reversed 3, is interesting palæographically, as it was hardly known till the discovery of the present texts.

XXV.

RECEIPTS OF VETTURINI FOR THE KEEP OF HORSES AND GROOMS.

(e)

Additional fragments of the receipts of Horos from Charmos.

G 98

G 103

αρτων αυτοπ[υρ]ων⁸ χ/χ και εις τους παραγενομενους
 τη $\overline{\iota\zeta}$ ηνιοχους ε και εις τους προνπαρχοντας $\overline{\beta}$
 /ζ εκαστωι αρτων σεμιδαλιτων χ/δ^α οινου
 εκαστωι κδ $\overline{\chi}$ κδ ελαιου εκαστωι δ^βκαλδ
 και εις ιπποκομους ιγ και εις τους προνπαρχοντας $\overline{\beta}$ 5
 $\overline{\iota\epsilon}$ εκαστωι αυτοπυρων χ ελαιου
 εκαστωι δ γα . . . και εις παρακαυσιν κικιος κα
 και τοις πασιν δελφακα και εις δε[ον]τα αρματων
 των παραγενομενων τ . . ε ηφ ε και συνωριδων
 . ηφ ? γ τοις πασιν ιπποις λδ χορτου βαν δε η 10
] Σοβ κ . . . $\overline{\iota\zeta}$ ωσαντως Σοβ ιη Σοβ

(f)

G 121

(Perhaps the opening of above?).

Λκλ τυβι κδ Ωρου ονηλατου?
 ταις ε

Λκα τυβι κδ ομολογει Ωρος [ονηλατης
 εχειν παρα Χαρμου του παρ Ασκλη[πιαδου
 του αρσινουτου ν[ομου] εμ Πτολεμαι[δι
 τη επι του ορμου εις αυτον κα[ι
 τους ακολουθουντας Αρτεμωνι [

In this case I have fitted two fragments together which Mr. Sayce had worked at separately. The autotype of the previous account (b) will explain to the reader how I have sought to represent the *sigles* in ordinary print. There is no new feature in this account, nor is it worth while to print many smaller scraps of the very same nature, but so mutilated that all connected sense is lost. I append two more which Mr. Sayce had not transcribed, which give some further light, though they are exceedingly difficult to read.

[77]

G 93

(g)

ε̄ εκαστωι της ημερ[ας αρτων
 αυτοπυρων ^βχ̄ οινου . [
 ελαιου [] ημερων δε[
 εις ιππους ιε χορτου δε[
 Σμ . κ . . ων Α εξ αρτ[5
 σεμιδαλιτων ^γχ̄ οιν[ου
 ελαιου ^δκ̄βλ αρτων α[υτο
 πυρων ^εχ̄ λσ και εις[
 ις ? εις εκαστον ^εκ̄χ̄ χορτου ? δε βαν
]ρων δε δυο χορ[10
 δεσμας ρξ̄ ^εκ̄βλ και εκα[στωι
 λασ . . της ημερας αρτων αυτο[πυρων
 ημερων δε δυο ^εχ̄ Μ και εις
 δ ωσα ? εκαστωι ^εχ̄ λαῑ
 κ . . ετων . . . με ? 15
 ομολογει απολλωνιος εχειν κατα
 τα προγεγραμμενα και μηθεν
 εγκαλειν εγρ[αψ ?] εν Δωρος αυτου συν
 ταξαντος δια το μη επιστασθαι αυ
 τον τον απολλωνιον] τα γραμματα 20

G 95

(h)

Λκα αθυρ ^βομολογει απολλωνιος
 μενελαου λιβυς της επιγονης
 εχειν αρ . . . κ̄ ^γχ̄ εις ιππους ιε χορτου
 δε βαν Σμ̄ ^δκ̄ [αρτων] σεμιδα ^εχ̄ οινου
^εκ̄μδ ελαιου ^εκ̄ιηδ αρτων αυτοπη̄ ^εχ̄λς 5
 και εις ημιονους ι εις εχατον [.] ^εχ̄ ^εχ̄

(Three more lines so broken that only stray words can be read.)

These two documents concern the same person, described in the latter as Apollonios son of Menelaus, a Libyan of the επιγονη, and yet a man who could not write. The handwriting of this latter is smaller, and shows contractions for recurring words. The grave accent over ^εκ̄ (κοτυλη) often assumes the form of a curl on the κ. That a man who could not write should have charge of 15 horses and 10 mules is remarkable, especially as he is not an Egyptian, but one of the military colony. The sigles in (h) l. 3 I do not understand. Several words are doubtful, viz. εχατον (l. 6), of which the letters are clear; and in the upper piece (l. 4) χορτου; the end of l. 9, and the εγραψεν of l. 18. It is not further necessary to note the proper names by capitals.

[78]

(i)

F 87 AND 89

βασιλευον[τος πτολεμαιου του πτολεμαιου και
 αρσινους θεω[ν αδελφων ∟ . . εφ ιερεως[
 αλεξανδρου και θεω[ν αδελφων και θεων ευεργετων
 κανηφορου αρσινους φ[ιλαδελφου
 χαριτονος μηνος θωνθ | κβ εν π[5
 νομου της πολεμωνος μερ[ιδ]ος . [
 ορσεους και πετωυς ονν[ωφ]ριο[ς
 και στοτοσητις αμεννεως και δ[]νν[
 μανρης μεγας στοτητιος | και μανρης[
 μανρεους και πασυς μανρει|ους και πασ[10
 πετεσουχος παιτος οντε|ς ΙΑ ονηλ[αται
 της πολεμωνος μεριδο|ς διεγγυη[σαν
 ασκληπιαδει οικονομωι | και μανρεους[
 παρα του Αρισταρχου του παραγ[ινοντος Θεοδωρωι ! [
 παειται τω (erasure) | εφ ωι λαβον[τες
 τιμην υποζυγιων κδ | εκαστωι 15
 σακκου ∟ρμ ωστε ειν|αι ΓΤΞ[

The fitting on of a second scrap, not noticed by Mr. Sayce, to the first, has given us the general sense. We can tell, also, how much is lost by the length which the opening formulæ of date afford us. 11 donkey-boys (we can trace 9 of them on the fragment as we have it), belonging to the "division of Polemo" in the nome, contract for the hire of 24 animals with the steward of the nome. "Long Manres" (l. 9) is characteristic of a society where the same names constantly recur. The connexion which would explain σακκου (l. 16) is lost. The writing is very bad, with frequent corrections and erasures.

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XXVI.

EIGHT BANKERS' RECEIPTS.

(1)

Y Y 2

σω]τηρος ετ[ους
]αρμαχου του ?[
 τραπε]ζιτωι απ[
 απο τ]ης

(Two lines effaced)

σωτηρος ετους τριτου κ[
 . αρμαχου συμβο[λον
 πυθ ?]ωνος τραπειτ[ου
 κ . [α]νδρωνκου ? ιλλυρ[ιου
]εις τα ε[ργα]η
 κ]ατα συμβ[ολον

(2)

ικαιει οκατα
 ει η παρα . . . σοιλο του του
 τρ]απεζι[του] λυσιμαχ[ου
 ωνωι ζ[ο]τιζω υφ ην
 σαεξειλε

καθ ? ριωνπενος
 ου εκ τες 1 οβολου[.]ημισ
 ων

απο συμβολων
]βελιον
 αρ]μαχος εχειν

(3)

Λ]η φαρμουθι λ̄ ομολογει
 εχειν αρχιδημος λι
 ων[ος] του παρα πολε
 μω[νος] του παρα]
 πυθωνος] τραπειτ[ου
 α]πο της εμ πτο[λεμαιδι
 τραπεζης
 γε

(4)

Λ]η φαρμουθι λ̄ ομολογει εχειν
] . . μναιου παρα πολε-
 μωνος του παρα πυθωνος τραπε-
 ζιτου απο της εμ πτολεμαι-
 δι τραπεζης ω θρ
 εις την παραθεσιν [των κατα
 πτολεμαιδα εργων
 μ 2λ χαλκ[ου

XXVI.

EIGHT BANKERS' RECEIPTS.

(5)

Λ]η φαρμουθι $\bar{\lambda}$ ομολογει εχειν
 διοφαντος απολλοδωρου παρα
 πολεμωνος του παρα πυ-
 θωνος τραπεζιτου [απο της
 εμ πτολεμειδ[ι τραπεζης
 πωην κατα ?
 η[ρ]γολαβηκεν
 ις κατα π[τολεμειδα εργα
 δραχμα[ς

(6)

Λη φαρμου[θι . ο]μολογ[ει ε]χειν
 διοφαντος [απ]ολλ[ο]δωρου παρα [πο-
 λεμωνος τ[ου πα]ρα πυθωνος τρα-
 πεζιτου α[πο τ]ης εμ πτολεμειδι
 τραπεζης λλων κατα[το]υ
 μ ων ηργολαβηκεν προς αξεν
 ειστα κατα πτο]λεμειδα εργα
 χαλ . [

These six receipts, found together, belong to two groups, of which (1) and (2) are far older than the rest. They probably date (when we compare 7 and 8) from the 33rd year of the reign of Ptolemy II. (252 B.C.). But if, in these short business documents, it was thought merely necessary to give the king's name without his father's, then it is possible, though not probable, that these documents are dated "in the reign of Ptolemy Soter, 3 and [20]." This would make them far older still; but as we have no evidence of any Greek foundation in the Fayyûm in his day—he did not found the Ptolemais here mentioned—we must decide for the 2nd Ptolemy. Even so, these documents are palæographically almost without precedent as specimens of the every-day business writing previous to 250 B.C. The second group is doubtless from the 8th year of the 3rd Ptolemy (240–239 B.C.), and help to supply their own gaps mutually. It would seem that at this period there was no Royal Bank at Crocodilopolis, but that the Bank of Ptolemais (at the harbour) sent an agent through the Fayyûm to do their business. But on this point see the next pair of documents. The sums of money are lost by the mutilation of the foot of each document.

XXVI.

EIGHT BANKERS' RECEIPTS.

(7)

Z E

Λγ θωντ ιζ ομ[ολογει
 απολλωνιος ο παρα[απολ
 λωνιδου εχειν παρα
 τ[. .] τραπεζιτου του
 πυθωνος του εμ πολ[εμαι
 δι της? κατ [αμ]μωνι[αδα
 λα χαλκου[]αχων?
 ηκοντα κατα το συμ[βολον
 το παρα θε . αιστων [εγρα
 ψεν απολλωνιος εχε[ιν
 αργυριον τα[] . .

(8)

βασιλευοντος πολεμ[αιου
 του πολεμειου σωτη[ρος
 Λγ θωντ ζ ομο[λογει
 απολλωνιος ο παρα[?απολλω
 νιδου εχειν πα[ρα
 τοστου παωτος
 πυθωνος τραπεζιτ[ου
 Λοζ? της εν αρσινοηι τρα
 πεζης ως . ε απολλω[
 σγ Λκ

These two receipts, written very cursorily on a scrap of papyrus coated with white clay, and hence much effaced, may be added to the six found together in another coffin. They are clearly enough dated the 33rd year of Ptolemy (II.) son of Soter (I.), accordingly 252 B.C. Whether by oversight or not, the second is dated ten days before the first (7th and 17th of *Thout*, as it is here spelt). It is very noteworthy that Python, in all other cases called the banker at Ptolemais (in the Fayyûm), is in the second the banker in *Arsinoë*. As we never find this name applied (at this date) to the capital (Crocodilopolis), or any other town of the district, we must understand it of the *nome*, elsewhere always εν τωι αρσινωιτηι (with or without νομωι); or is it an early anticipation of the application of the name to the chief town of the nome?

XXVII.

TAXING ACCOUNTS AND RECEIPTS.

(1)

S 251 (*recto*)

ομολογει Διονυσιος Ασκληπ[ιαδη
 συντιμασθαι τον υπαρχ[οντα
 αμπελωνα εις το κL θεους ? χα ?
 εποικιον της ηρακλειδου μ[εριδος ?
 εκ μετρητων δεκαδυο εκτη
 μετρηται δυο και των
 ακροδρυων και στεφανων
 δραχμων δεκαδυο ων η εκτη
 δραχμαι δυο εαν δε τους ?[
 γενηται προσηνοισωπ[
 γραφιας ορκου βασιλικου[

ομολογει ισιδωρος ασκλη[πιαδη
 συντιμασθαι τον υπ[αρχοντα
 μοι αμπελωνα εις το κγ[L ?

I have added a few supplements to Mr. Sayce's decipherment. The occurrence of the late N. T. form (δεκαδυο) for 12 is very remarkable. On the back is a very hastily scrawled document about dove-cotes, which are mentioned on some ostraka as subject to taxes, and worth renting for the manure, which is even now much used in Egypt for growing gourds and pumpkins. Such a field was called σικυνηρατον. ακροδρυα are fruit trees. The growing of flowers for wreaths and garlands is mentioned in some other scraps, and indicates the varied nature of the tillage of the Fayyûm. Vines were evidently very numerous, as appears from the frequent mention of them in the present papers. The levying of $\frac{1}{4}$ th on the crop must have been no ordinary tax, but an arrangement with the landlord.

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XXVII.

TAXING ACCOUNTS AND RECEIPTS.

(2)

T I

χρηματισον

Λια μεχιρ ιε ασκληπιαδ[α-

κεσωνος του παρ ημων

Λια μεχιρ ις εχει δωριων ν[αυκληρος

. . . . ενωι καταγεται ξυλ[

5

το καθηκον ναυλον ως τον ρ . [.

ομολογει δωριων ναυκληρος εχειν[

ομολογει διων ο παρα νικανορος ε[χειν * κατα συ

μβολον τουτο

ομολογει ακεσων ο παρα ασκληπιαδο[ν

10

ομολογει απολλοδωρος εχει δι εμ[ου?

καλλικρατης δωριων εχειν[

νικανωρ πυθωνι χαιρειν σ[

διονυσωδωρω διωνος ι κε κατ[

ελαιουργιω συμβ[.]ον τιμην σι . . ι

15

απο των γε[νημα]των του ιλ σ[

της πολεμωνος μεριδος εκτος σ[

ι-ριαϛ απο δε τουτων υπολογησα

εις τον της ελαικης λογον το εις φορετ[ρον]

We have, unfortunately, only a remainder (some figures) of the column to the left, while the right side of this column is gone. The hand is good and easily read, and seems to give us the summary of a number of transactions all written out as one continuous text. Each line commencing with *ομολογει* gives a new account, and besides a letter commences at l. 13. The division (ll. 8, 9) *συμβολον*, about which there can be no doubt, should be noticed as an example of what is against the later practice in papyri—the dividing of words, when passing from one line to the next, in the middle of a syllable. I can show an instance of *με-θημων*!

From about this date (year 11 of Ptolemy III.) we have many specimens of writing; a majority of the extant wills in Part I. being dated in the year 10.

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XXVII.

TAXING ACCOUNTS AND RECEIPTS.

Taxing Accounts.

E 79

(a)		(b)	
ΝΙΤΡΙΚΗ		Φιλωτεριδος	
ιβ Αλεξανδρου νησου εσπενοτριος		και σενησιωτος ρα	
τεπενθεως	λς	/Αχυθ]-c ει ροβ]=L	
ιδ Αυτοδικης Πανσις Παιτος			
Πασις α . στος ?	μδ	5	(an effaced column)
Θεαδελφειας Ψινταης Αρεως μη []β			
ιε . Σωτεριδος Αρτεμιδωρος			
Αγαθωνος και Σεμθως Τεωτος	ξ		
Αρσινοης Τεσενουφισ Πασιτος			
και Ωρος Πασιτος	q	10	
φιλα]γριδος ψ . (effaced)	λς		
(effaced)	κη ?		
. τος αμεννεως	ις		
.			
	ιζ/Σο	15	
(Then nine effaced lines)			
	. . . μ	25	
Φιλαγριδος Ψεναμουνις Αρεως	λς		
Αυτοδικης Πανσις Πατιτος	μβ		
και Παις Πανσιος	μβ		
Ενημεριας εχων θαωντος			
μεχρατου ?	νβ	30	
ψιναχεως ωρος αμεννεως	ις		
πηλουσιου ψεναμουνις	[
τοτητος και ? φαβαις φαβιτος	[
και ωρος πετενοτριος	[
φιλωτεριδο[ς	[

As regards the heading *νιτρικη* (*νιτρον* still comes from the Nitrian lakes in the Libyan desert to Diméh, now a headland on the lake), we may compare it with τ 1, 19 *απο δε ρουτων υπελογησα . . εις τον της ελαικης λογον*, and refer it to an impost on potash, or soap, as the other was a tax on olive-yards. I have not thought it necessary to note all the proper names by capitals. The tot in l. 15 will not fit the previous items as I read them, but that in l. 6 (probably 12) is mutilated; that in l. 12 very faint. The sum at the end of the right column is 1659 dr. 4½ obols. Then follows a *sigle* *ει* which I cannot explain, and then 172 dr. 5½ obols. I cannot find the relation of these numbers. Potash occurs both in the Louvre and the Leyden Papyri, cf. Leemans, p. 93; as an article in ordinary accounts, cf. Lumbroso, *Ec. pol.*, p. 228.

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XXVII.

TAXING ACCOUNTS AND RECEIPTS.

Taxing Accounts.

By (a) (4)

 χου
 ιον

 και ομολογει
 πραγματα
 φαινεται

(b) (5)
 χη α αυτ
 ισονομο[υ
 σχ? ημενοις χαλκου ου αλλαγη π βτηπηα ισον[ομου
]πâΣζ δ̂ τξϵ απο δε των ω? . . υ? ατασε ομε . ω[
 ου]αλλαγη κεΓ̂πξθ ισονομου δ̂ τα παντα . . εν ν[
]απο της ολης προσοδου χαλκου ου αλλαγη[
]αλλαγη Ε[][c ισονομου[
 πο . . . μεν της επιστ . χ προσοδ[
 σμαθης την θυ?
 dos φα

This miserably broken pair of fragments contains three points of great interest. In the first place the hand is very curious. All the usual straight lines are rounded, so as to produce a quite new effect, though we can see an inclination to it in the Homeric fragment (Part I, Autotype III. (4)). It was evidently one kind of calligraphy in early Ptolemaic times. Secondly, we obtain another example of the rare fiscal term *ισονομος*, corresponding to *ου αλλαγη*, long since known (cf. A. Peyron, *Pap. Zoid.*, p. 22 sq.). The expression *ισονομος* only occurs twice in the Paris Papyri (62 and 67) and once in Parthey's Berlin Papyrus, and as usual, Lumbroso has been the first to suggest a rational explanation (cf. his *Recherches*, pp. 43-6). He observed that both words were only used in public accounts with the State banks, and were therefore financial, not ordinary commercial transactions. He saw also that it was only in the case of certain taxes that silver was demanded, or in lieu of it a premium on copper. Recently E. Revillout has again taken up the question (*Rev. égypt.* III., pp. 80-2), and given a perfectly satisfactory solution of the difficult text (Louvre Pap. 62) which treats of this point, and orders that, in paying copper for silver, 12½ drachmæ shall be charged per *mina*, i.e. a discount of 12½ per cent., including charge for baskets, carriage, &c., of the heavy metal.

[86]*

XXVIII.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

C

COLUMN I.

ς κ πεσυθης και πεσυθης	ρξη	
/ χ πμχως		
ων κ μανρης μ αρμαιος	Κα	
σεβενν]ντου σατυρος και παις	ρξη	
]ο πασις πατιτος	πζ	5
]τος	ρξη	
]ειας ερμαισκος	πδ	
πτολεμ]αιδος ορμου πνεφερωσ	ρξη	
]ιδος χεσθωθης	ρξη/ωξδ	
]νοη ωρου	μβ	42
κοιτω]ν σοχωτης φανητος	κε/τ	25 $\frac{3}{4}$
]ης της κατ αμμωνιαδα σοχωτης		
]τος	ρξη	168
]ν της]με πετοσιρις αχολπιος	πδ	84
]πασις πασιτος	μβ	42
θα]ιβις ωρου (<i>figure lost</i>)	[μς ?]	46
οξυρυ]γγων πετοβαστις τεωτος	φδ	504
]εω αρμαις φανησιος	ογλ	73 $\frac{1}{2}$
αρσιν]οης χ μανρης φανησιος	πδ ?	84
ηφαι]στιαδος και σοκνεπαιου ν		20
]αρμαιος	ρκς	126
βου]βαστου οννωφρις τοτοητος	νς	56
]σφεως θασως τεωτος	ζ	7
κερ]κεσουχων φανησις αγχωφιος εις		
]ος και τυβι	ρξη	168
]ιβις σοκεως	πδ	84
]κωνιας ωρος πετευριος	ρκς	126
κερ]κεσουχων πα[σι]ς πασιωνος	ρξη	168
π]ασις πασιτος	πδ/λωπηλ ?	84 : 1888 $\frac{1}{2}$
]λεως θερεησις πετησιος	πδ	30

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XXVIII.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

COLUMN II.

μουχεως μερρης πετ[ωτος
 Τ[α] ταθυμης τεωτος
 αυτοδικης πετοσιρις κα[ι
 πολεως τοτοης φανησι[ος
 ταλιθεως πετεσουχος 5
 βερενικιδος^ε ηφαιστι[ων
 θφωews πασις και μανρη[ς
 φαρβαιθου πετεσουχος
 σαμαρειας θεοφιλος κα[ι
 βαχχιαδος ορσενουφισ[10
 πτολεμαιοδος ορμου[
 Ο στοτοτητης ε[
 κερκεσουχων πασι[ς
 και φανησις αγχωφιο[ς
 οξυρυγγων πετοβασ[τις 15
 τεβετνεως και μα[
 μαρρης και φανησις[
 καρανιδος ερυνων[
 Η κερκεσουκων πασις[20
 κοιτων σοχωτης φ[
 πτολεμαιοδος καινη[ς
 αρμαιος
 θεαδελφειας αρμαιο[ς ?
 θεογονιδος χεσθω[υθης
 Τ[α] τεχωσις τεωτ[ος 25
 αρσωνος Χ^ε μαρρης φ[ανησιος
 φαρβαιθου πετεσο[υκος
 φιλαδελφειας φαιης[πασιτος

XXVIII.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

COLUMN III. (upper part lost).

ⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ	ρξη
ⲉⲥⲫⲁⲉ?ⲥⲟⲕⲟⲛⲱⲡⲉ ϫⲁⲛⲉⲥⲓⲟⲥ	Σνβ
ⲟ . .	ρξη
ⲗⲉⲧⲟⲥ ⲟ ⲡⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲡⲁⲥⲓⲧⲟⲥ	νϭ
ⲟ ⲑⲁⲛⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲭ[ⲱⲛ]ⲧⲟⲥ	κα 5
ⲕⲁⲓ ⲑⲁⲙⲟⲛⲓⲥ ⲧⲉⲱⲧⲟⲥ	πδ
ⲛⲉⲫⲁⲓⲧⲓⲁⲃⲟⲥ ⲕⲁⲓ ⲥ[ⲟ .] ⲕⲛⲉⲡⲁⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ	
ⲱⲣⲟⲥ	ρξη
ⲁⲗⲗⲁⲥⲟⲱⲛⲧⲟⲥ?	ζ
ⲃⲓⲟⲛⲛⲥⲓⲁⲃⲟⲥ ⲛⲗⲓⲟⲃⲱⲣⲟⲥ	ρξη 10
ⲕⲟⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⲥⲟⲭⲱⲧⲉⲥ ϫⲁⲛⲉⲥⲓⲟⲥ	κα/Βχμε
Ⲓⲁ ⲃⲓⲟⲛⲛⲥⲓⲁⲃⲟⲥ ⲛⲗⲓⲟⲃⲱⲣⲟⲥ	ρξη
ⲒⲦ ϫⲓⲗⲁⲃⲉⲗⲫⲉⲓⲁⲥ ϫⲁⲓⲛⲉⲥ ⲡⲁⲥⲓⲧⲟⲥ	Σνβ
ⲕⲉⲣⲕⲉⲥⲟⲩⲭⲱⲛ ⲡⲉⲙ . . ⲥⲧⲟ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ ϫⲁⲛⲉⲧⲟⲥ ϣⲓⲑ (for ϣⲓⲉ)	
ⲓⲥⲱⲣⲁⲥ ⲛ ⲧⲉⲥ ⲟ ⲙⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲥⲓⲣⲓⲥ ⲁⲭⲟⲗⲡⲓⲟⲥ	νϭ 15

COLUMN IV.

ⲁⲑⲛⲉⲁⲥ ⲕ ? ϫ[
Ⲓ ⲕ ⲱⲣ[ⲟⲥ] ⲡⲉ[
ⲟ ⲃⲉⲣⲉⲑ . . ⲛⲓ[
ⲁⲫⲣⲟⲃⲓⲧⲉⲥ ⲃ ⲕ[
ⲉⲛⲛⲉⲣⲓⲁⲥ[	5
ⲟ ⲑⲁⲛⲉⲥⲓⲥ ⲱⲣⲟⲛ[
ⲕⲁⲙⲓⲛⲱⲛ ⲡⲟⲗⲉ[ⲱⲥ	
ⲃⲉⲣⲉⲛⲓⲕⲓⲃⲟⲥ ⲑ ⲛⲉⲫⲁⲓⲧⲓⲱⲛ	
ⲡⲧⲟⲗⲉⲙⲁⲓⲃⲟⲥ ⲟⲣ[ⲙⲟⲛ	
ⲟ ⲑⲁⲥⲱⲥ ⲙⲉ ⲱ[	10
ⲕⲁⲓ ⲑⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲧⲟ ?[
ⲕⲁⲓ ⲁⲩⲭⲓⲥ ⲁⲣⲛⲱ[ⲧⲟⲩ	
ⲱⲥⲓⲛⲧⲉⲱ ⲁⲣⲙⲁⲓ[ⲟⲥ	
ⲟ ⲧⲣⲉⲙⲉⲛⲣⲓ[ⲥ	
ⲧⲁⲛⲉⲱⲥ ⲙⲁⲣⲣ[ⲛⲥ	15
Ⲓ ⲕ ⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲉⲧⲉ[ⲥⲟⲩⲭⲟⲩ	
ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲃⲓⲕⲉⲥ ⲡⲉⲧ[

XXVIII.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

COLUMN V.

θεογονιδος χεσθωυθης	[
Τ| ενης φαιητος		
βουβαστου οννωφρις τοτοητ[ιος		
φιλωτεριδος της θ' ψενησις[
αρσινοης της κατ αμμω]νιαδα		5
σοχωτης	[
⊙ στοτοητις ωρου μ[
ΙΕ απολλωνιαδος παωπ[
εις λινωνιαν	[
⊙ αρκαδιων	[	10
και κικιος	[
⊙ εσερσυθις μανρεους	[
αρσινοης χ' μαρρης φαν[ησιος	[
/⊙ ταρμουθις	[
και θασως πετεσουχου	[	15
βουκολων κ' μαρρης μ[[
⊙ θασως φανησιος	[
και τρεμενυρις τεωτος		ν[ε
και τορτομμινις φαρατου		ρξη
και εσερταις πασιτος		κα
κερκεσουχων πασις πασιωνος		κη
μουχεως μαρρης πετωτος		μβ
⊙ θαιβις ωρου		πδ
και στοτοητις εριεως		πδ
ανουβιαδος ψενευρις ωρου		ρξη
⊙ θασως τεωτος		πδ
πτολεμαιδος ορμου πνεφερω		πδ
φιλαδελφειας φαιης πασιτος		τλσ
μεμφεως θασως τεωτος		ιδ
φιλαγριδος πετοσιρις αρευτος		πδ
⊙ θαιης σωκεως		πδ/2ψπλ
κικιος		πδ

XXVIII.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

COLUMN VI.

]ς και αρχελαιδος πασις		
]τεωτος		νς
]ητις ωρου		μβ
]θεοφιλος		πδ
]φανης τοτοητιος		ρξη 5
της]	κατ αμμωνιαδα	
]		πδ
φανησις αγχωφι[ος		μβ
] . . s φανησιος		πδ
]σεμβεως		πδ 10
τ]ης	⊖ ME αχολπιος	ρκς
ως πεμσαι τε παρα		
]ος		μβ
]ς θεσμοφορου Ε . . φαι		ιζ[15
]η ν αξ . ν . πος ?		ρξη
]η ν αξ . ν . πος ?		ρε
πετ]	εσουχος φανησιος	ρε
αμ	αμμ ?	κ[η ?
φιλωτεριδος απολλωνιος		ρ[κς ? 20
αυτοδικης πετοσιρις και θερμου		πδ
οξυρυγχων πετοβαστις τεωτος		Σνβ
θφωεως πασις και μανρης		μβ ?
μητροδωρου ει ωρος κ εις *		νς
/Λωοθ[?		(1879 $\frac{1}{3}$) 25
ιζ		
⊖ αγαουθις αρμαιος		πδ
και σεντοης παλαμουνιος εις		
μεχειρ	(χαλ a scrawl)	κα
ψνασιναρως τοτ[οη]τος		πδ 30
λητους πολεως πασις πατιτος		ρα[
αφροδιτης βερενικης πολεως		
πασις πασιτος		μβ
πολεως τοτορτομμηνης φαρασου		πδ

l. 24.—There are two symbols: one ει, which occurs in other accounts, the other apparently a π with an ν through it, which I have not met with elsewhere.

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TAXING ACCOUNT.

λητους π[ολε]ως πασ[
μουχεω[s] χες ?[
κουτων σοχ[ωτης . .] . . . (φανσιος?)		
πτολεμειδος ορμον π[
θφωews μανρης και . . [5
ταλιθεω[]ς πετεσουχος (<i>here an old fold in the papyrus causes</i>		
χαλκον <i>the writer to leave the gap)</i>		
πολεως θασω[s] φανσιος		
ιερας νησου της ηρακλη[ιδου μεριδος?]		
σοκωνωπις φανσιος		10
/πηλουσιου αραχθης		
λαγιδος αλεξανδρος		
πολεως θαμωνις τεωτ[ο[s]		
βακχιαδος ορσενουφι[s] ara[
πολεως τοτοτητις ψενα[15
αρσινης Χ [̣] μανρης πανη[
πολεως θανης σεμβεω[s]		
μνηρεω[s] ο . . σω[s] παιτος		
Τ οβοστοραις αχολπιο[s]	. .	
μι]κρα ωρου	πδ	20
και θασις πετεχωντος	κα	
πηλουσιου αραχθης	τλc	
κεркеσουχων πασις πασιωνος	τλc	
/Χ Γ [̣] τλβ		
?		
ιη θασις αναυτος	μβ	25
πολυδευκ[. η]ς παλαστο[. . . .] απασωτος		
χαλκον]β ωξ?	
⊙ θασω[s] μεγαλη ωρου	πδ	
φιλαγριδος πετοσειρις α[]ς	πδ	
Τ θασυθις σεμβεω[s]	πδ	30
φαρβαιθου πε[τρeς]ουχος φ[ανησι]oς	πδ	
Τ εσοραις πασιτοις	ιδ	
ευημεριας πασω[s] νεκτηνιβιος		
χαλκον	ρξη	
?		
πτ[ολεμ]αιδος καινης μετρο[ησεω[s]?] εις	ρξη	

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XXVIII.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

COLUMN VIII. (top lost).

	" ?	
	Σνβ	
	ιδ	
	μβ	
	μβ	
	λε/Αρρ	
	κε	
	τλσ	
]ος ρξη	
	μβ	
	πδ	
	μβ	
Τῷ ταθυμῖς		
πηλουσιου αραχθης		
βουκολων κ μανρης αρμαιος		
σαμαρειας ληωνιδης το παρα θεοφιλου		
και πυρριου	μβ	5
δικαιου νησου φανησις αγχωφ[ι]ος	πδ	
βερενικιδος θεσμοφορου ηφαιστιων	Σνβ	
Τῷ τορτομμινις φαρατου	πδ	
βουβαστου οννωφρις τοτοητος	ρκσ	
Τῷ θαμηνις φανητος	μβ	10
κερκεσουχων πασις πασιωνος	μβ	
Τῷ τογγους πασιτος	πδ	
και θασως οαφρεους	πδ	
ιβιωνος τεσενουφῖς πασιτος	πδ	
θεογονιδος χεσθωθης	Σι	15
κοιτων σοχωτης φανησιος	λα ι	
Τῷ θασης φανησιος	μβ	
οξυρνηχων πετοβαστις τεωτος	τλσ	
ψιντεω αρμαις φανησιος	ξγ	
ηλιου Τῷ πασις κωμαρχης		20
εις λινωνιαν	κα	
κερκεσσιρηως τεσενουφῖς πετωτος	qa	
Τῷ ταρμουθῖς πετεθυμιος	ι	
καρανιδος ερυμων	qa	
σεβ]εν[ν]του σατυρος και παις	Σνβ	25
Τῷ θαμουνις τεωτος	πδ	
και βοσ[. .] παρενδωτου	πδ	
		[93]

XXVIII.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

COLUMN IX.

φιλωτεριδος απ[
 |ο| οβοστορταις α[
 μεμφεως θασω[ς
 τεβετνου σεσθω[

/Γρξδ/

Κ̄	αντοδικης πετεσουρις και θερμουθις	πδ	5	
	θεαδελφειας ερμαισκος	ρξη		
	πτο]λεμαιδος ορμου πνεφερωσ	ρξη		
	ηφαιστια[δος] και σοκνοπαιου νησου			
	ωρ?	ρξη		
	φιλαδελφειας καιης πασιτος	Σπ	10	
	ψιναχεως αντιπατρος το παρα			
	α]ρμαιος του μανρεους	πδ		
	αφροδιτης βερενικης π[ολ]εως			
	πασις πασιτος	πδ		
	αλ?]αβανθιδος σεμβως	[ρε]	15	<i>the traces suit.</i>
	αλε]ξανδρου ν̄ μανρης τεωτος	ρνδ		
	/âΣρε			
ΚΑ	[]σως φανης τοθω[
	ταλιθεως πετεσουχος αρ[μαιος?			
	|ο| τογγους πασιτος			
	βακχιαδος ορσενουφισ αρ[μαιος		20	
	βερενικιδος θεσμοφορου ηφαιστιων	ρξη		
	σαμαρειας θεφιλος και πυρριας	πδ		
	αρσινωης της κατ αμμωνιαδα			
	σοχωτης	ρνδ		
	οξυρυγχαν πετοβαστις τεωτος		25	
	χαλκου	[
	ανηρεως μανρης πασιτος	[
	|ο| θασως τεωτος	[
	λητους πολεως πασις πατ[ιτος	[
	λυσιμαχιδος αρνωτης και μ[		30	
	εις λινωνιαν	[
	Γ̄ θασως μικρα ωρον	?		
	φιλαγριδος πετοσειρις αρεντος	ρξη		
	αρσινωης Χ̄ μανρης φανησιος	ρκς		
	|ο| τρεμεννις τεωτος	κα	35	
	φαρβαιθου πετεσουχος φανησιος	ρμ		
	κερκεσουχων πασις πασιωνος	ρξη?		
	αθηνας κωμης πεσυθης μαγ[

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XXVIII.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

COLUMN X.

λαγιδος αλεξανδρος		
αρσινους της κατ αμμω[νιαδα		
ε . . ωτης		
⊖ θασως πασειτος		
και θασως μεγαλη ωρου		5
και αρχελαιδος πα[
]τος		
π]ετεςουχος φαν[ησιος		
κ]αμινων πασις και λεμ		
] . εμ . ευς κ εις λ[		10
]στοτοητος		
μα]υρης πασιτος		
πτολεμα]δος ορμου πνεφε[ρως		
]ρμσ[=		
στ]οτοητις εριεως		15
]ης ωρου	πδ	
]αραχθης	υκ	
]ερμαιοσκος	ρξη	
πολεως τοτοη . ς φανησιος	„	
βερενικιδος θεσμοφορου ηρακλιδη	πδ	20
τογγους πασιτος	πδ	
υ . ιεους ωρος ?	κα	
μανρης φανησιος	ρκσ	
αρμαις ης ? ετετυμιος	κα	
ω τε κωμετωτος ?	πδ	25
θεα]γονιδος χεσθωντης	[μ]β ?	
τοτοητις ψοναπιος ?	κ[
και θασως φανησιος	κα	
κερκ[]ν σους πασιωνος	ρξη	
το]εγ[]υρος ?	ιδ	
(There may be a line gone)		

XXVIII.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

COLUMN XI. (upper part lost).

ευμεριας θασως νεκτ^{νο}[ενιβιος
 πολεως τερμουθις . . [
 φαρβαιθου πετεσουχος
 π[. . .
 βουβαστου οννωφρις τ[5
 κοιτων σοχωτης φα[νησιος
 καρανιδος ερυμων α[
 | θασως μικρος ωρου (corrected)
 και τογγους πασιτος
 και ταρμουθις πετε[10
 πηλουσιου αραχθης
 σαμαρειας θεοφιλος[
 /βητ[

This very large and connected list of names and sums of money was found in stray pieces, and read first by Mr. Sayce, but he did not determine the order of pieces. This, with the aid of some additional fragments not noticed by him, I succeeded in establishing. The dates gave me the first clue, but the task seemed, both to me and to Mr. Bernard, who helped me, impossible. Unfortunately, the head of the account was gone, and there is no clue, so far as I can find, to the nature of the account, whether it be taxing, or merely a shopkeeper's bill. But I incline to the former. The hand is a fine official hand, though the lines are crowded, and the writing is smaller in the last two columns (X. and XI.). The difficulties of representing the various symbols in type are well nigh insurmountable. 2 stands for 1000—a cursive α with a flourish. Other makeshifts will explain themselves.

Turning to the amounts given in figures, they vary from 7 to 420, and are all so systematically multiples of seven, with rarely a simple fraction of seven over, that there must be some reason, monetary or otherwise, for the fact. This is only the case in one other fragment of the same character in the collection (marked υ' 10). If it were general, we should say that the copper coinage stood in some relation of seven, or multiples by seven, to the silver. The smallest subdivision of the silver drachma may have been equal to seven copper. In a couple of cases the sum given at the end of a day's collection can be verified by adding the items above it. But in the longer lists there is no complete column of figures, and those preserved are so various, that it is not possible to supply the individual sums by conjecture, even though we can tell the gross of them by examining the tot. The names of the villages in which the contributors reside make up in all over fifty. Many of them—Memphis, Ptolemais, Bubastos, &c.—are names famous elsewhere in Egypt, but here applied to towns and villages in the Fayyûm. The most frequent is, however, *the city*, seldom written out, usually represented by | or ⊕, sometimes (cf. III. 15) ⊕ με(γαλης), one of which means, I suppose, the metropolis, Crocodilopolis.

Comparing this list of villages with that compiled by Dr. Wessely from papyri of the third and fourth centuries A.D., we find some few had preserved their names, and appear in both lists: the majority are distinct in the two lists. Talith has lasted to the present day. We find two Arsinoes—that by Ammonias, and the mound, or dyke (always χω, not κω), of Arsinoe. From

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XXVIII.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

the smaller villages the contributors are generally the same on different days. Thus it is always Petesouchos who pays from Pharbaitos, whereas from the $\overline{\text{P}}$ or \odot there are many: 13 with \odot , 11 with $\overline{\text{P}}$. Strange to say, the same proper name (*ταρμουθις*, perhaps also *θαιης* and *θαυης*) only once recurs on these two lists: once (VI. 11) we have \odot της με[γαλης]; and in other documents the sign is common for *πολις*, being, in fact, a rounded π , with the \circ inserted, on the same principle as the other sign. But there *may* be some distinction intended. If there was, indeed, a second *city* in the nome, it must have been Ptolemais, where was the Royal Bank, and from which the produce of the nome was shipped to the Nile. We have *Πτολεμαιοδος ορμος* constantly as a village, and also the new Ptolemais; but whether this means the city with the Bank (in contradistinction to the city in the Thebaid), I cannot tell. It seems to me that no account is taken of any place beyond the nome. The great majority of the men's names is Egyptian; and surely this large specimen of the transcription of Egyptian sounds into Greek ought to be of great help in determining the very obscure question of the pronunciation of old Egyptian—a problem as yet quite unsettled. A certain number of Greek names also appear, and among them from Samaria two men called Theophilos and Pyrrhias. As they were surely Jews, these names are translations of Hebrew names; I suppose of El-dad and Esau, or the like. I do not know that the form *Θεοφιλος* occurs at an earlier period. In Roman days it is common. Was it a Jewish invention?

We have the height of the columns, and of the margins above and below; the number of lines in each varies. The length of the preserved pieces amounts to about three feet.

Though the writing is very fine and clear, wherever the surface of the papyrus has not been damaged, there are several problems left for future decipherers. I will here call attention to them. What is the meaning of I. 2? "In copper coin 940" is quite plain, but how are we to explain the following $\chi\omega\varsigma$? It cannot represent a fraction. In the very next line we have *μεγαλη* coming between the name of the man and his father (or mother), and that it is not in the genitive appears from IX. 37 and X. 7, where *θασως μεγαλη* and *μικρα ωρου* are written out. It probably refers to stature. There are slight variations in spelling, such as *φαιης* and *φανης*, *πασιτος* and *πατιτος*. Most probably two dates, ϵ and ζ of the month, occurred at the (lost) beginning of I. 3 and 29; we then come to η (II. 19), and probably there was a tot at the end of the previous line; θ and ι are lost; $\iota\alpha$ and $\iota\gamma$ (there is no β) occur at III. 11 and 12; $\iota\epsilon$ at V. 10; $\iota\zeta$ at VI. 26; $\iota\eta$ at VII. 25: $\iota\zeta$ - ς at the foot of III. is of course not a date, but a figure inserted as a correction. I cite these to show how the pieces come consecutively in the order established by me. It is curious that *χαλκου* is repeated so often, and not merely before the tots. *λινωνια*, which occurs several times, may mean net-fishing, or making of nets.

In a *φορος αμπελωνων* (marked \vee 1), of which there are several fragments of names and figures, I have found one proper name not usual, *κισσος*, and two names of places which may give some clue to identifying their locus: *βερεινικιδος αιγιαλου*, and *πτολεμαιοδος δρυμου*. The strand of Berenikis must have been situate on the border of the lake; the latter has been already identified by Mr. Petrie on the circular canal leading south from the entry of the water. But what does *δρυμος*, usually an oak coppice, signify here? I think we have the clue in Hesychios' *και φρουριον*, and that it means the *fort* of Ptolemais. Neither oaks nor coppices were likely to be found in the Fayyûm. In another list I have found repeatedly *φοινικιωνος πηλουσιου*, the palm-grove of Pelusium, as a place of abode, one of the inhabitants being a *σκυτευς* (cobbler).

The determination of the various villages in the Fayyûm is so important that I have here added a special index of the place-names, giving also the names of the contributors, and the amounts of their contributions. These last may tell us something of the relative size of the villages.

αφροδ. βερενικης κ, Column iv. line 4 : vi. 32 ; ix. 15 πδ.
 αλεξανδρου ν μανρης, ix. 18 ρνα.
 αλλασσουτος, iii. 8.

αθηνας κ, iv. 1 ; ix. 42 ; ϙ και στ. v. 23 πδ.
 ανουβιαδος ψενυρις ωρου, v. 25 ρξη.
 απολλωνιαδος παιων ? v. 8.
 αρκαδιων τστ v. 10.
 αρσινοης της κατ αμμωνιαδα σοχωτης, i. 12 ρξη ; v. 5 ;
 ix. 29 ρνδ ; vi. 6 πδ ; ix. 28 ρνδ ; x. 2.
 αρσινοης χ (πενετ κ) μανρης φανησιος, i. 18 πδ ? ii. 26 ;
 μαρρης, v. 13 ; παν, vii. 16 ; ix. 39 ρκς.
 αρχελαιδος πασις, vi. 1 ; x. 6.
 ανηρεως μανρης πας ? ix. 32.
 αυτοδικης πετοσιρις και, ii. 3 ; iv. 17 ; ix. 6 (και θ) πδ ;
 vi. 21 (και θ) πδ ; ix. 6 πδ.

βακχιαδος ορσενουφισ αρι, ii. 10 ; vii. 14 ; ix. 25.
 βερενικιδος θ ηφαιστιων, ii. 6 ; vi. 15 ; viii. 7 ; ix. 26
 ρξη ; iv. 8.
 βουβαδου οννωφρις τοτοτος, i. 21 vs ; v. 3 ; viii. 9 ρκς.
 βουκολων κ πεσυθης και πεσυθης, i. 1 ρξη ; v. 16 ; μανρης
 αρμαιος, viii. 2 μβ.

γ (γεωργων ?) κ ωρος πετ, iv. 2 ; iv. 16.

δικαιον ηησου φανησις αγχωφιος, viii. 6 πδ.
 διονυσιαδος ηλιοδωρος, iii. 6.

ευημερίας, iv. 5 ; vii. 33.

ηλιου πολ. πασις κωμαρχης, viii. 20 κα.

ηφαιστιαδος και σκοκνεβαιον η ωρος αρμαιος, i. 19 ρκς ;
 iii. 6 ρξη ; ix. 10 ρξη.

]λεως θερεσις πετησιος i. 29 πδ.

θεαδελφειας αρμαιος, ii. 23 ; αρμασκος, i. 7 πδ ; ix. 8 ρξη.
 θεογονιδος χεσθωθης, i. 9 ρξη ; i. 24 ; v. 1 ; viii. 15, zi.

θφωος πασις και μανρης, ii. 7 ; vii. 5 ; vi. 25 μβ ?

ιβινος τερσενουφισ πασιτος, viii. 14.

καμινων πολ., iv. 7.

καρνανιδος ερυμων, i. 17 ; viii. 24 ρα.

κερκεσιρεως, viii. 22.

κερκεσιουχων φανησις αγχωφιος, i. 23 ρξη ; πασις πασι-
 νος, i. 27 ρξη ; vii. 23 ; ii. 13, 19 ; v. 21 ;
 iii. 13 ριβ ; ix. 42 ρξη.

κοιτων σοχωτης φανησιος, i. 11 ; κε[ς, ii. 20 ; (φανησιος),
 viii. 15 λα[; iii. 10 κα ; vii. 3.

... σοκουωπη φανησιος, iii. 1 (cf. i. 19).

λαγιδος αλεξανδρος, vii. 12 ; x. 1.

λητους ϙ πασις πασιτος, iii. 3 vs ; vi. 31 ρα[; vii. 1 ;
 ix. 34.

λυσιμαχιδος αρωυτης κωμαρχης, ix. 35.

μεμφεως θασως τωτος, v. 29 ιδ ; ix. 3.

μητροδωρου ει ωρος κ, vi. 24 vs.

μουχως μερρης πετωτος, ii. 1 ; v. 22 μβ ; vii. 2.

μυηρεως ο... σως παιτος, vii. 18.

]ν της τστ με πετοσιρις αχολπιος, i. 14 πδ ; iii. 14
 vs ; vi. 11 ρκς.

]ν της τστ ηρακλ, vii. 9.

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οξυρυγχων πετοβαστις τωτος, i. 17 φδ ; ii. 15 ; ix. 30 ;
 vi. 22 Σνβ ; viii. 18 τλς ; ix. 30.

πηλουσιου αραχθης, vii. 10, 22 ; τλς, viii. 2 πδ ; xi. 11.

τστ ταθυμις τωτος, ii. 2 ; vii. 13 ? viii. 1.

τοτοτης φανησιος, ii. 4 ; vii. 15 ?

ενης φαιητος, v. 2.

αραουθις αρμαιος, vi. 26 πδ.

οβσοτορταις αχολπιος, vii. 19 ; ix. 2.

εσορταις πασιτος, vii. 32.

τογγους πασιτος, viii. 12 ; και θασως, 13 ; ix. 24.

τεχωσις τωτος, ii. 25.

τορτομυις φατατου, vi. 34 πδ ; viii. 8.

θαυης σεμθως, vii. 17, 30.

ταρμουθις πετεθυμιος, viii. 23.

θαμουνις τωτος, viii. 26.

ϙ πασις πασιτος, i. 5 π[ς ; (without ϙ), i. 15 μβ ; i.
 28 πδ.

στοτοητης ε, ii. 12 ; v. 7.

θαησις πετεχωτος, iii. 4 κα.

βερεθιενι ? iv. 2.

θασως με ωρου, iv. 10 ; vii. 28 πδ.

θασως τωτος, v. 26 ; ix. 33.

τρεμενυρις, iv. 14 ; ix. 40 κα.

θασως φανησιος, v. + 3 more, 17 ; vii. 8 ; viii. 17 μβ.

θαιης σωκεως, v. 31.

ταρμουθις, v. 14.

θαησις ωρου, iv. 6.

εσερευθις μαυρεως, v. 12.

ϙ της με αχολπιος, vi. 11.

πολ. ορμου πνεφερωος, i. 8 ρξη.

πολ. καινης, ii. 21.

ϙ πτ. op. ix. 8 ρξη ; ii. 11 ; v. 27 πδ ; vii. 4 ; iv. 9.

θα[ιβις σοκεως, i. 25 πδ.

αλα]βανιδος σεμθως, ix. 17.

]νοη ωρου, i. 10 μβ.

]τος, i. 6 ρξη ; i. 13 ρξη.

]εω αρμαις φανησιος, i. 18 ομ.

]σφεως θασως τωτος, i. 22 ζ.

σαμαρειας θεοφιλος και πιρριας, ii. 9 ; viii. 4 μβ.

σεβενντου σατυρος και παις, i. 4 ρξη ; viii. 25 Σνβ.

ταλιθως πετεσουχος, ii. 5 ; vii. 6 ; ix. 21.

τανεως μαρρης, iv. 15.

εως ?

τεβεννου και μ, ii. 16 ; ix. 4.

φαρβαθου πετεσουχος, ii. 8 ; ii. 27 ; vii. 31 πδ ; ix. 41

ρμ.

φιλαδελφειας φαιης [πασιτος, ii. 28 ; v. 28 τλς ; iii. 12

Σνβ ; ix. 12 Σπ.

φιλαγγιδος πετοσυρις αρευτα, v. 30 πδ ; vii. 29 πδ ;

ix. 38 ρξη.

φιλωτεριδος της θ ψενησις, v. 4.

φιλωτεριδος απολλωνιος, vi. 20 ρκς ? ix. 1.

ψιναχως αντιπατρος, ix. 13 πδ.

ψιντω αρμαις, iv. 13 ; viii. 19 εγ.

ψυασιναρως τοτ., vi. 30 πδ.

τ θασως μικρα ωρου, ix. 37.

τ θασως μεγαλη ωρου, x. 5.

XXIX.

A TAXING ACCOUNT ON VINEYARDS.

(a)

E 70 (Small writing, and papyrus whole at the margins, no text cut off.)

Ἰ ἀμπελωνων

κλει

Τεωτος του Θεοδοτου εις το μέρος ?

του Τεωτος αρψ . . ησιειου

Πτολεμαιδος ορμου (or δρυμου ?) σ

5

Πυρρανδρος Δημοσθενους

αργεοφορ ? ητ του εν τω ιδιω κ

Αλεξανδρου νησου λθ

Πυρρανδρος Πυρρανδρου του εν τω

Πυρρανδρου κ ωσαυτως κδ/ξθ

10

κΗ δημητριω νικανορος ? απ αυτων ? λσ

Λ Αραωτης κυρηναιος ? του εν τω

Θεοδωρου του Θεοδοτου κ

Αλεξανδρου νησου βι

(new hand)

Πτολεμαιος Ερμιου Μ της εν

15

τω ? Θεοδωρου του Θεοδοτου κ

Αλεξανδρου ν

ιη]—σν

/ρκσ=σν ει ιγγ ?

(b)

E 71 A

απομετρηθητω ουν εις το β [τ]ο προ]γεγρ|εκφοριον
(an erased line)Αχο . πει του Αλκετου αιχμαλ[ω]των κ
των απο της [Α]σιαςτον ανειλημμενον εις το β μετα τον σπορον του δL
περι ψιναρψενησιν ανενηνοχεν εφ ημας

Απολλωνιος ο συγγραφοϛ συγγραφην ην εφη

5

συγγεγραφθαι απαετην ? προς Ηλιοδωρον τον

πυρον του κληρον εκφοριου τακτου πυρων

λα και κεχειρογραφεκασι τον ειθισμενον

ορκον τοσουτου μεμισθωσθαι απομετρηθητω ουν

εις το β]ασιλικον το προγεγραμμενον εκφοριον

10

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XXIX.

A TAXING ACCOUNT ON VINEYARDS.

(c)

L 4, 147

]στων[

γεγραφη]κασιν τον προγεγραμμενον ορκον
 μεμισθωσθ]αι απομετρηθητω ουν

εις το ^αβ το προγε]γραμμενον εκφοριον

Καλλικ]λεους πεζου *κ* (περι κερκεσουχών *erased*)

εις το βασιλικον μετα τον σπορον του δL [ανεν

Accounts on the

ηνοχεν εφ ημας Πτολεμαιος ο συγγραφο[φυλαξ ^ρσυγ ην

back of both.

εφη συγγεγραφθαι Καλλικλην προς Αθηνιων[α

εκφορι[ον] την *κ* εκαστην πυρων ργ

(d)

L 4, 148

πυρων [α]ρ . . και [κ]εχ[ε]ιρογραφηκασιν [τον ειθισμενον

ορκον [τοσ]ουτου μεμισθωσθαι απομετ[ρηθητω ουν

εις το β τ]ο προγεγραμμενον εκφοριον

παυνη[]^α

Αχολπει του Λυσανιου πεζου *κ* τ[ον ανελημμενον

5

εις το ^αβ [μ]ετα τον σπορον του δL περι ιεραν ν[ησον ανενηνοχεν

εφ ημας Απολλωνιδης ο συγγραφοφυλαξ [συγγραφην

ην εφη[συ]γγεγραφθαι . . . τα και προς τ*[

του κλ[η]ρου *κ* κδ εκφοριον την *κ* [εκαστην

πυρων ργ και κεχερογραφηκασιν το[ν ειθισμενον ορκον

10

τοσουτου μεμισθωσθαι απομετρηθητω [ουν εις το ^αβ

το προγεγραμμενον εκφοριον

The first text (a) is a list of taxes upon vineyards at the "harbour of Ptolemais," and the "island of Alexander," some of them worked by the proprietors of the farms (Greeks), others by Egyptians as tenants.

The first abbreviation *κ* (χωρος?) I have not met elsewhere. There can be no doubt from this and the following texts that *κ* means κληρος, lot of land. The addition of the items in ll. 10 and 15 is correct, viz. 6 + 39 + 24 = 69, 69 + 36 + 2½ + 18⅓ = 126 and a fraction. But I cannot, as yet, explain the following symbol ε, or the ιγγ. If the right reading sum be ιγγ', 13¼, then it is neither the 9th nor the 10th of the larger sum. But we should expect it to be the fraction giving the tax due upon the value of the vineyards. Several words in this text have resisted my efforts, though not in the least effaced.

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XXIX.

A TAXING ACCOUNT ON VINEYARDS.

The following three texts are fortunately from the same list, and though not continuous, are so uniform in their formulæ as to afford the decipherer clues by comparison, without which they could not have been read. They are full of curious points not paralleled elsewhere in the collection. The form is an order to an individual, evidently the holder of a farm, to pay in a tax of corn to the Crown granary. The name ψ. in l. 3 is new, and the reading not quite certain. In (d) the name Acholpeus (or Acholpis) occurs (αχολπιος, also in XXVIII. vi. 11); and in (b) a very similar name, though I cannot read the fourth letter as a λ where the man is specified as "one of the prisoners," "brought from Asia" being written above. This points to the great expedition of Ptolemy Euergetes I., in the first year of his reign (246 B.C.), into Asia, which was only second to that of Alexander in brilliancy. We know that he brought home vast spoils and prisoners; we did not know till now that these prisoners were known as a class settled in the Fayyûm. Two of the others are entitled πεζοι, foot soldiers, whereas the cleruchs of the district hitherto found in the collection are all cavalry. The formula proceeds: "(As regards) the land-lot which has been resumed by the Crown after the harvest of the fourth year in the island of Alexander (or other place specified), X., the keeper of records, has brought up to us a contract which he said Kallikles had made with Athenion (or other names), stating, that the farm being of so many acres, bears so much wheat per acre, and they have signed upon the document the usual affidavit that it was let for that value. Let, therefore, the above amount of wheat be delivered in measure to the Crown granary." This is the general sense. The difficulties are the government of the accusative κ̂ (viz. κληρον), and the construction of the clause which defines the amount of the produce. Unfortunately, the figures are almost all lost, or so blurred as to be most uncertain. If I have read (d) 9 correctly, the farm was 24 arouræ, and this suggests that the πεζος was awarded with about a quarter of the amount of the cavalry soldier's lot (εκατονταρουρος, Part I., Pl. XIX., &c.). Here, again, the form κληρον and εκφοριου seem to have οντος understood, a very curious ellipse, not found in this Greek elsewhere. The word χειρογραφειω, known in very late Greek, also occurs (in a barbarous form) in one of the Brit. Mus. papyri published by B. Peyron.

These pieces of papyrus are further to be noted in regard to Wilcken's law of *recto* and *verso*, viz. that *recto* writing is along the fibres (horizontal), and *verso* writing across the fibres. The law is correct in almost every case. But here are exceptions, (b) is written partly on vertical fibres, partly on horizontal; the back is blank. (c) and (d) are written on the vertical fibres, that is to say, on the usual *verso*, while the other side of both is covered with the details of a private account which can hardly have been the earlier writing. This instance, however, is not decisive, as are the cases where the vertical side only is used.

I append here another text of nearly the same date. It is the third of a set of short letters copied out in a very elegant official hand, of which we have only the central strip. The remaining three have no interest owing to the important words being lost. This is not so with the following:—

s' 4

(e)

]των αιχμαλωτων τους υπολελειμμενους
]διατηρει επιμελως και επιμελου αυτ[ων
]ν και αυτοι παραγινησθε συναποκατα[
 μη τι]ς αυτων διαδραι
 ερρωσο Lβ περιτιου κδ

[101]

H *Recto*.

(a)

θραικων

αττινα

[. . .]

εγ δε του

μετρει δε

5

και εις το

αντιδια

λοιπαι

σεβεννυτου

ευβιοτος π

10

μισθωσ[ις ?]α'

εις τον αγ[ορ]αστον ου η τιμη αντιδια

γεγραπτ[αι] κγλ φορετρον δλ

τηλεκλει[]ειβ' / λγ' ιβ'

λοιπον εκ του γενηματος ρσ αγ' ιβ'

15

]ιας ν[. .]ον μαγνης Σι

μισθωσις ουκ αναφερεται

]ρει δε εις τους υπολογους γλ' κ'

. . εις τον αγοραστον ου η τιμη αντι

γεγραπται ξγ' φορε ιβ/οσ

20

τηλεκλει ειβ' / πα ιβ'

This fragmentary account, in a very large and clear hand, is interesting in showing us the handling of fractions. Take the last four lines—we have $3\frac{1}{2}$, $60\frac{1}{2}$, and 12, added up to 76, which is quite right; then adding $5\frac{1}{2}$, it comes to $81\frac{1}{2}$. The fractions are all such as have unity as numerator; hence, where we should have used one they put several; but that they handled them easily is shown by the not very obvious addition of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{1}{8}$, to make up unity—accurately .996. φορετρον means freight, a word hitherto hardly known.

XXX.

PAPERS CONCERNING FARMS, ETC.

H *Verso.*

(b)

			ου	αβροχου	
				αβροχου	
				αβροχου	
				αφορου	
				αβροχου	ι 5
				αβροχου ιε αφορου ι	
			]χου ι	αλμυριδος ι	
				αλμυριδος αφορου κ β ι	
				αβροχου	
			. υριδος ι β ι		10
				αβροχου ι	
			Πτολεμαιος Αλεξανδρου	αβροχου	
β]ι αλμυριδος αφορου κ/λ ανα γ	ρ	Περδικκας Παρμενι[ωνο]ς	αβροχου		
β λ	ανα δ	ρκ Μενελαος Νικανορος	αβροχου		
β π	ανα δ	τκ Φοινιξ Διονυσιου	αβροχου	15	
β π	ανα δ	τκ Νικανωρ Αρριδαιου	αβροχου		
β πε	ανα δ	τμ Παιων Πατροκλου	αβροχου		
β ι	ανα δ	μζζ Πτολεμαιος Πτολεμαιου	αβροχου		
β ι	ανα γ	λε Τερριδατης Αλεξανδρου	αβροχου		
βι αφορου κ/λ	ανα γ	ρε Αμυντας Κορραιου	αβροχου	20	
βι ιε	ανα δ	ξ[ζ] Πτολεμων πατρα?	αβροχου		
		Πτολεμαιος Πολυξενου	αβροχου		
		Πτολεμαιος Πο[λ]υνδι[κου]?			

This curious list has no parallel in these papers. The left column contains a perfectly correct piece of multiplication, of which *ανα* is the equivalent of our \times . L. 12 is probably to be explained by l. 19—of Crown land (*βασιλικου*) 10, of unproductive 20, makes $30 \times 3\frac{1}{2} = 105$. In the next line $15 \times 4\frac{1}{2} = 67\frac{1}{2}$. In l. 17, $10 \times 4\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} = 47\frac{1}{2}$. An important distinction seems to be made between land not watered (*αβροχος*), and hence barren, and land essentially barren (*αφορος*), and this is justly attributed to a salt exudation (the Indian *soud*), which may still be seen in Egypt, notably at the great temple of Karnak.

The Macedonian names are noticeable. *Τερριδατης* is probably Persian.

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XXX.

PAPERS CONCERNING FARMS, ETC.

^L
β usually stands for βασιλικός and its cases. Hence the list may mean of land from royal domain so much. The waste land probably lay above it, and was put in to square the farms.

It was shown long since by A. Peyron, that holdings seem to have been in the form of long strips to the highway, or waterway. This was absolutely necessary in a country of terraces sloping rapidly, and irrigated from above. Otherwise irrigation disputes, which have always been a great difficulty, would have made agriculture impossible. The present measurements point to this form, so common round German villages, and in England in the Isle of Axeholme, near Gainsborough. The multipliers only vary from 3 to $4\frac{3}{4}$, the other sums from 10 to 80. We may assume that the adjoining piece of papyrus, were it recovered, would contain similar multiplications after each item. Some figures are, indeed, preserved at the outer edge of the upper lines. What is the unit multiplied throughout? Probably cubits (πηχεις). The figures are too high for any larger measure to be probable. If there was a large drainage of the lake to supply new land for the Ptolemaic settlement, the land below the old level may all have been called βασιλικη, and made subject to special taxes.

(c)

Summary of an account.

S 237

Fragment of the left column.

]ν αυτοις	δι αριστωνος των λοιπων κωμ[ων
]στιθ . . . ι	της μεριδος
]2ς<	βασιλικης των προς αργυριον
]τος	συντετιμμενων
]ε	παραδεισων πα Εθ εκτον 22[ωλδι=
]ρμ	αμπελωνων πα 2χιζ 22κ[ξθς
	/πγ χκς Γρδ=
	και αμπελωνων γενημα τ[

(A mutilated line). κεραμον . .

[See Prof. Sayce's account in *Hermathena*, p. 58.]

The missing figures can be supplied with certainty, viz. 11,009

7,617

18,626

Of which the tax of $\frac{1}{6}$ amounts to 1834 $\frac{5}{6}$ dr.1269 $\frac{1}{2}$ dr.3104 $\frac{5}{6}$ drachmæ,

the talent being equal to 6000 drachmæ. It appears that the produce was separately taxed, but the details are lost.

[104]

XXX.

PAPERS CONCERNING FARMS, ETC

(d)

κ' 4 (*an official return of the crops sown in the province.*)

βα]σιλενοντος Πτολεμαίου [του
 Πτολεμαίου και Αρσινόης θεων
 Αδελφών ετους ιβ̄ παρ Αμμωνίου
 ν]ομαρχου του αρσινόιτου της
 κατεσπαρμένης γης εις το ιγ̄ ετο[ς
 εως αθυρ λ̄? καθοτι επεδωκαν οι τ[οπαρχ^{οι}?

εν τωι Αρσινόιτηι

πυρωι

φακωι

κυαμωι

κριθι

]ωι

π̄
ΜΔΤΚ :

ΩΠΑΙΪĆ . .

[

[

This text is written in a great clear hand, but somewhat washed off. If we had the rest we should indeed have an important record of the crops in the Fayyûm. A nomarch gives an official return of all the land sown in his district in the season 235-4 B.C. up to the month Athyr, whether 1st or 30th day is now impossible to tell (A or Δ). He is merely specified as *the arsinoite* nomarch, but surely he cannot have controlled the whole province. The word lost at the end of l. 6 can hardly have been so long as *τοπαρχοι* or *γεωργοι* without some abbreviation. *τοπαρχ^{οι}* seems to accord with the vestiges, but the papyrus immediately over the line is torn away. The foot of the π and of the ρ seem, however, to be there. The vestige at the end of l. 3 does not suggest the ν of *αμμωνίου*, but what other name can it be? The last figures—digits and fractions—of the two sums remaining are so mutilated as to be uncertain; the measure is probably the *aroura*. I infer that the proportion of various crops which a farmer might sow was fixed by the State; but the remaining sums do not help us. The rotation of crops and the limitation as regards certain exhausting crops (*e.g.* flax) is in our own day often fixed by private contract between owner and occupier of land.

XXX.

PAPERS CONCERNING FARMS, ETC

(e)

[Autotyped.]

Bilingual fragment, demotic text above.

$$\begin{matrix} \nu & \alpha \\ \phi & \nu \end{matrix}$$

?

αρνωτου . τενουβιος κα[. . .]. ιευβ[
αμπελωνος εγμετρητων μβ

(a line erased)

*On left side
demotic text
reaching as
far as
here, but
at the end
appears*

μ]εχιφ
μ

ομολογει μελεαγρος μελεαγ[ρου
ο προεστηκως του ειρηνης αμ[πελωνος
συντιμασθαι τα γενηματα τ[α
αυτη περι την φυλακιτικηνην νη[
εις το κυλ μετρητων διακο[σιοι
ων εκτη οινου μετρηται τριακον[τα
τρεις τριτον

5

(a blank margin)

This is one of the very few specimens of bilingual texts among these papers. Perhaps it may help the decipherers of demotic, whose problem seems still unresolved. In l. 4 the article της seems to be omitted. The opening symbol (φυλακιτικη νησος ? cf. l. 6) is new to me. There are accounts scrawled on the *verso*.

(f)

F 88

A small docket about two inches square—

απεφαινεν παις
υπαρχειν επιτιμον
εν τωι μητροδωρου
εποικιωι λρν

A little docket complete. "The slave showed that there was assessable value (?) in the dwelling of Metrodoros worth 150 drachmæ." επιτιμια are assessments, generally *damages*. But the sense is here uncertain, as the formula does not recur in any of the texts.

[106]

XXXI.

AN OFFICIAL ORDER.

υ' 8

(Lines lost here)

] . . . τοις τοποιοις και τον εκ της
 γε]γονε[ν]? της ιερας και της δεδομε
]σ . αλλης της τοιαυτης
 ελευ]θερας? εν δε τοις υπο κατω Μεμφεως
] . . υρημενων κληρων τοις τε μισθοφοροις 5
]ις και τοις Μακεδοσιν και τοις αλλοις
]ν επιστολην ημιν μεν απολογισαι
 τ]ης αγοραστης γενηματα συνεχε
 σθαι το]ις κυριοις οταν ο καιρος επιστη
]αι καταχρασθαι εις ο τι αν αυτοι πρ 10
]ειστο

ερρωσο

This fragment, covered with a thick coat of white clay, has lost at the opening of the lines at least six letters (cf. l. 9), perhaps much more. It tells us, however—what hardly another document in the whole collection contains—of the distinction between mercenaries and the legitimate veterans, of whom “Macedonians” were, of course, the highest class; also that the mercenaries were rewarded with lots of land. We know from a Turin Papyrus (Ed. A. Peyron, Part 2, p. 8), and from Polybius’ account of the preparations for the battle of Raphia, that even the mercenaries became a hereditary class, to which, apparently, Egyptians were admitted. The reader will do well to consult Peyron’s excellent Commentary.

This fragment is written on the *verso* side (at right angles with the fibres), whereas the (usual) *recto* side is blank. It is thus a distinct exception to Wilcken’s law.

[107]

M'

5
 10
 15

δωροθεῖαι ἐπιμελητῇ παρα π[ε]ρσοις ?
 ριος (erasure) βυρσοδεψου των κ[α]τοι
 κουντων εν κροκοδιλων πολει εργαζ[ο]μενου
 μου εν τω βασιλικω ταμειω των δ[ε]ρ[γα]-
 των καμου εχοντος οικημα καθοτ[ι] και ?
 οι λοιποι εν ωι ενοικω του δε τελωνου[
 φιλιππου επι[χ]ωρησαντος εργα[ταις] . .
 κωιδ[αρ]ια α τλλοντες τι ?
 δια τοις κασποποις τα δε εξ αυ[των] λημ ?
 ματα παραδιδομεν εις το βασιλ[ικον]
 τω τελωνη επι και προτερον εν
 επανω χρονοις τουθ[η]μιν κεχωρη
 μενον εστιν και επι των αλλων τελω
 νων νυνι δε παρεισπηδησας τις διον[υ]-
 σιος ος ουτε τελωνει αλλ εφελεκται

τωι φιλιππωι εισπηδησας εις το οικ[ημα
της β του πανι

ου οικουν ωιχετο εχων μου ιματια
 αιγυπτια α ην αξια λω και χαλκ[ου
 λφξ προσκεφαλαια β ερεα καινα λρ[20
 μνας ε εργασμενων αξια λτ κ[
 τριβον? χιτωνες β λλ στημονος λεπτ[ου
 στατηρας ιβ λμ κυαθον κονδυ λι κ[αι
 συγγραφην ην ειχον επι σιται δεδα[νει (σμενην)?
 25 επι ηιβ ας καταβας εκκεκομισται ο ην
 .]ς δη συγγραφη διαγορευει εκαστης .
 ωσ]τε ειναι λψκ σκευων γρυτην λρ κ[αι
 κωιδια α επενευσεν ο φιλιππος πασιν
 ημιν εργαζεσθαι εξειηνοχεν α ην . . [α-
 να ιζ ωστ ε[ι]ναι το παν ων εξειηνοχε 30

ΖΒχ αξιω ου[ν σ]ε μη υπεριδειν με ηδ[ικη
μενον εις τα μαλιστα αλλ ανακαλεσαμενον

(The text is continued on the verso, in upside-down direction)

τον διονυσιον επερωτ[αιν α]υτ[ου]
 τινος] χαριν εξενηνοχε τα[.]ει .
] εησμονηκοτω[ν] εις οδι ?
 τον τ[ε]λω[ν]ην και εαν ηι α γραφω
 επανα[γ]κασαι αυτον αποδουναι
 τα επικαλουμενα τουτου γαρ γεν(ομενου omitted)
 εσομαι τετευχως των παρα σου φιλανθ(ρωπων omitted)

εγρα]ψα προς τον σκυττα
ανακαλεσασθαι τον προς
την δερματη[

XXXII.

COMPLAINTS OF VIOLENCE

Year 8, Mesore 17th.—“To Dorotheos, the officer in charge, from Petosiris, the tanner, of those residing in Crocodilopolis. As I was working in the Royal Repository, and the workmen, and I among them, having a dwelling in which I live, and Philip, the tax-gatherer, having conceded to the workmen hides which [we prepare?] for the jerkin-makers, but deliver [a portion?] of them into the Royal store to the tax-gatherer; this has been permitted to us in former times and in the days of other tax-gatherers. But now a certain Dionysios, having rushed in upon us, who is not even an official tax-gatherer [but has brought with him an order from Philip?—this man, I say, having rushed into the house where I dwelt, on the 2nd of Payni, carried off my Egyptian garments in value 800 dr.; and of bronze 560 dr.; two pillows; new fleeces worth 100 dr. [?]; 5 minæ weight of worked [fleeces?] worth 300 dr.; and 2 [?] tunics worth 30 dr.; 12 staters weight of fine thread worth 40 dr.; a Cyprian drinking cup, 10 dr.; a legal document [with some sort of order upon debtors—I do not understand it] worth 720 dr.; a box of tools worth 100 dr.; and the hides which Philip permitted all of us to prepare [so many], worth 17 dr. each—all these he carried off . . . so that the list of all he carried off comes to 2600 dr. I beg of you, therefore, not to overlook this extreme injustice to me, but, having summoned Dionysios, to ask him why he carried off [my property . . .] and if it be as I write, to force him to restore what I have charged against him. Thus I shall be under obligations to you.”

On the back of the upper fragment is an endorsement, telling us that Dorotheos had answered the tanner (he calls him a cobbler), and had sent for the tanners' inspector (perhaps *τον προς τη δερματου[ργιαι]*) to inquire into the case. To continue the text of the *recto* on the *verso* is most unusual.

In the text above printed I cannot make out the ends of l. 9, of l. 19, the opening of l. 22, the sense of ll. 24–26, and the gaps of l. 35. Several interesting words occur, two of them, *κονδυ*, a peculiar drinking-vessel, and *κας*, a skin (*κασσινοι*), cited by Hesychius; *γρυνη* (a box) occurs in a fragment of Sappho, where it was thought corrupt. As to the figures l. 20 may be incomplete; l. 29 is so certainly, and hides a figure, yet the total he gives is 42 less than the correct sum (2642), and indeed 720 is a curious item, which precludes the solution that he is dealing in round numbers. I suppose the money is copper, but, if so, the whole might not be more than 45 silver drachmæ.

XXXII.

COMPLAINTS OF VIOLENCE.

(2 a, in a very formal hand.)

Γ' (recto)

Probably top of column.

Αρμαιτος ορ . . s και Δημητριωι
 γεωργοι τ ε]λαβομεν παρα Πτολε-
 μαιου του ων περι Α[φροδιτ]ης Βερενικης πολεως
 σου παραγενομενου τη ιδ̄ τωι ψ[υγμωι] και ημων επιδικνου
 των σοι την φυτηαν Θεοδοτου [δε] του φυλακος ακολουθουντος 5
 ημιν συνεταξαμεν αυτωι απο[ετ? . . .]ψαντα φυλασσειν
 τον ψυγμον παραγενομενου [δε] αυτου? εις? τον ψυγμον
 ευρεν Πτολεμαιον Πτολεμαιου [των χ]ερσιτω[ν . . .]ν και Πνεφερω[τα?
 Ωρου των εγ Βουβαστου κατοικο[υντω]ν συμ[ψ]ωντας τον ψυγμον
 ο μεν Πνεφερωσ εξεφυγεν τ[ον δε] Πτολεμαιον συνειχεν 10
 ο φυλαξ
 ακουσας δε Πτολεμαιος ο πατηρ [αυτου] παρα Πνεφερωτος του
 εκφυγοντος κατεβη εις το πεδι?[. . .]τησκι? [. . . .]φορον
 αγων μεθ αυτου Λυσωνα τον ν[. . .]τιον και Τρεβιον τον κοινο-
 γραφον και Δημητριον και Μελεαγρον οι δυο των χερσιτω[ν
 και εισα . ανθ . . ? και Ευπορον κ[αι] Αρ[ιστ]ονομον επιγονοι 15
 και αλλους πλεους τον φυλα[κα] επαρωινησαν και εγδυσα[ν
 Λιχναιον τον επιγεγεννημενον αλλον φυλακα εδοκ[
 .]α και κ . ωναριον Πνεφερωτι τωι συνψησαντ[ι τον ?
 ψυγμον φευγοντι και ου αφιλου [και] Πτολεμαιον [. . . .]
 τον συνσχεθεντα ακουσαντος δε Θεοδοτου του [φυλακος 20
 βοωντος και παραγενομε[ν]ων πλεων επι τον τοπον ευ[ρομ]εν
 Θεοδοτον αγομενον υπ αυ[τω]ν εις Βουβαστον περι ων επεμαρ
 τυρομεθα σοι και Πασιτι φυλακιτη Αφροδιτης Βερενικης πολεως
 εγ Βουβαστου ερχομενος ος και τουτοις επηκολουθησε
 μετα δε τινα χρονον αφηκαν Θεοδοτον καλως ουν ποιη[σεις 25
 γραφας ωι προσηκον αναπεμψαι τους αντωπους οπως αν . . επι?
 σκεψις γενηται περι τουτων και δυνωμεθα τωι βα[σιλει
 τα δικαγια ποιειν απροφασιστως ερρωσο L[ε] φωωφι δ̄

In this hand μ and ν, and ο and δ, are hardly distinguishable.

[110]

XXXII.

COMPLAINTS OF VIOLENCE.

(2 b, below the last in very cursive writing.)

ποσειδωνιω? οικονομω? παρα πτολεμαιου πρωταρχον κα[ι . . .]ολειου?
 βο[ω]τιων τους περι σεβενντον κροτων ο φορου . η . s του εL μηνος
 φαωφι ^{τας βους}κα . . . μεν σοκομινιος τινος βουκολου των κατοικουντων
 εν κροκοδιλων πολει κατανελοντα τον κροτωνα . . . λιων
 υ εμειωσ[. .]ωστε τοις φυλακικαις [π]αραδουναι κατιοντος 5
 π[. . . .]τονικων ος κατοικει εν περσεαι επιπαραγενομενος
 και παροινησας ημας αφειλετο τα κτηνη και τον βουκολον [.]χολν?
 δε κωι . . υ . θι . να του καταφθαρμενου υφ αυτων κροτωνος []ει
 ξιως φ . . αξιουμεν ουν σε γραψαι ποσειδιωνιω τωι στρατηγωι
 επιστειλαι τωι εν περσεαι επιστατη αναπεμψαι καταφ[. . .]ες 10
 αλ[]τε?ως τον επισκεψαντα? κ (vestiges remaining)
 εσομεθα της παρα σου βοηθειας τετευχοτες ευτυχει

(3)

Γ' (verso)

Βακχιος Αλεξανδρωι χαιρειν εαν και Αρμαις τοπογρ μοι επι[σ]τειλη?
 καλως ποιησεις συνταξας τοις?
 Φαιητος και ανειπαι περι του?(πυ)ρου? Χ χ Χ κ εχομεν δα . .
 την ασφαλειαν την εως το ζL εκφοριου ερρωσο Lσ αθυρ

Αρμαις Βακχιωι χαιρειν εχομεν μεν? την παρα σου γραφεισαν μοι επιστ[ολην]
 εν ηι υπεκκειτο και ενεβας επισταλκεναι σοι της
 βερενικης πολεως απ προσεπεσεν μοι
 ωρου τ γει ψεως ποσειδωνι
 οικονομωι περι των αυτων κατασκευαζων
 αγενητα περιων

[111]

XXXII.

COMPLAINTS OF VIOLENCE

On this large sheet of papyrus, unfortunately tattered at the top, and with many gaps, there is (*recto*) a considerable text in careful writing (separate capitals); under it a cursive text very much washed out, and difficult to read, and (*verso*) a number of letters copied in a very small running hand. The latter side was covered with white plaster, and very troublesome to clean. As regards the texts, the first two are separate complaints of violence, and petitions for redress. Unfortunately, the crime committed in the first case, which was the occasion of an arrest, and a rescue, is very obscure. As well as Mr. Bury and I can decipher it, the charge against two men, a settler and a native, is that they did something (Mr. Bury reads *συνψωπρας*, l. 9) to the *ψυγμος*, which is a word hitherto almost unknown, but used in the sense of a *drying*. When the magistrate, or officer appealed to, "came down on the 19th inst. to see the garden (*φურταν*, l. 5) of Theodotos, the watcher being with us, we directed him to guard the *ψυγμος*. When he went to do this, he found Ptolemy and Pnepheros scraping together the *ψυγμος* (?), [which was so clearly a misdemeanour that] Pnepheros at once ran away, while Ptolemy was arrested. But when his father heard of it, having gathered a party of friends, he assaulted the watcher, and stripped another who came to help him. (Then follow two mutilated lines.) But when Theodotos heard of it, and made a noise, and a crowd collected, the rescuers seized him also, and dragged him off in the direction of Bubastos, in the presence of another policeman from the town of Aphrodite Berenike." The complainants conclude by beseeching the official they address, to send for the eye-witnesses of the affair, and help them to justice, that they may do their duty to the king without excuses. Very probably the sense will yet be more closely determined.

The next document is also a record of violence, I guess of a tax-gatherer, who was so over-zealous as to seize a shepherd and sheep, the property of the complainants. But there are other details about Kroton—if he be the tax-gatherer—and the shepherd called Sokominis, which I cannot understand.

As regards the letters scribbled on the back of the sheet, the labour of cleaning off the clay is so tedious, that I have only done enough to show the general nature of the documents—copies of business letters, and have given a partial decipherment of two short letters from the centre of the page. Some future student will find ample scope for his acuteness and his industry upon this single page.

XXXIII.

A STEWARD'S ACCOUNT

B 40 (1 and 2) *verso blank*. (a)

COL. A.

COL. B.

(1) λογος πα[. . .]σκατος? των κατα την
οικιανμηνος χοιαχ εχω απο φορετρον υπο
ζυγιων ⊢ κη . .

ενοικιον του οικηματος του αθυρ 5

και χοιαχ ∫
/⊢ κη]=∠αν]ηλωμα
εις τους σακκους τρ . . ες ∫

Γ αρτων των αποσταλεντων σοι 10

ανω αβ κατεργον ∫

οικοδομωι του οικηματος ⊢ α

] . γαζαν? τοις υπηρετουσι ι

]ιγα του παικ[. .]φοντι τον πατα 15

. . γειτονα επι το οικημα √ c

. . . και ψελιον και δρεπανου c

τωι την πλω[θο]ν προσαγοντι

(2) . . τον[] —c

. . ι το λοιπον[20

οικοδομωι γα[

εργαταις τοις υπηρετουσι ημε-

ρων τετταρα[]τεων θ* ⊢ β √ c

και τωι . . . οντι τα ξυλα √ c

δοκοι [] ⊢ ε/√ c

αρτων των αποσταλεντων σοι ανω 25

α α κατεργον √ c

και τα οψωνια τοις κατα την οικιαν

του αθυρ πετοβαστει κα?

ψενοβαστει βουκολωι ⊢ β ι

αρμεωτι υφορβωι? ⊢ β ι 30

κισσωι και νικωι? το ελαιον ⊢ α

τοις κτημασιν κρι α ιζ'—c ⊢ ιβ]=ι

εραστιος? της αγορας θεισης τοις

ιπ[π]οις χ' αμ'ια 35

και τα αποστα[λεντα

Αριστιωι ορνιθες

επανηλωμα το[

/εις τα του ε

επανηλωμα ⊢ [

λογος σιτικος μηνος

ΕΧ του αθυρ 5

και το απολειφθ[εν

ματος του βασιλ[ικου

/α ι[

(2)

ανηλωμα

χοιαχ εις το πετο[10

αθυρ

Γ αρτων των απ[οσταλεντων

σοι ανω

ΚC αρτων

/

τυβι σιτομετρια[15

και τα αποστ[αλεντα

πλαριωτιου εις[

. . . . (line gone here)

Ε ανω εις την γυ[

// εις ταυτο[

For a commentary on these two fragments I refer the reader to the notes on the texts at the close of my Introduction.

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI, PART II.

P [113]*

XXXIV.

AN ACCOUNT FOR UNGUENTS.

<i>Recto.</i>	(b)	
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	νεονχωων	$\chi^{\beta} \kappa [$
$\chi^{\eta} \gamma c \eta$	/γκλδκ	
$\chi^{\eta} [$	και αφεψησις και αφιμωσις	$\chi^{\delta} \kappa \theta$
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa a$	κυπρου \bar{a}	$\kappa \gamma$ 5
$\chi [$	και $\bar{\beta}$	$\kappa \eta ?$
$\chi^{\beta} \kappa \beta c$	ροδινου $\bar{\beta}$	$[. .$
$\chi^{\delta} \kappa$	φοινικινου	$[$
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \gamma$	ερετρικου	$[$
$\chi^{\beta} \kappa c$	τηλιου	$[$
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa c d$	μυρσινου	$[$ 10
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \zeta$	. . υθινου	$[$
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c d$	νεονχωου	
$\chi^{\beta} \kappa \eta c d$	/ελαιου	$\chi^{\delta} \kappa \beta c \eta [$
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa a c$	/ελαιου	$\gamma \chi [$
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa a c d$	γινεται χαλκου	$\mu \gamma \chi^{\delta} \kappa \delta$ 15
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \zeta$	υνα[
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	ελαιου τιμην	
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \zeta$	και ανηλωται	
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \zeta$	/ . υμα[
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	Ο επι γεννηματος χαλ[κου	
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	αργυριου	20
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	γινεται αργυριου	
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	χαλκου	$\rho [$
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	και εγδο[
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	και χαλκο[υ	
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	συν δε τωι[	25
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	αργυριου[
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	και χαλκο[υ	
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	πεπτωκε	
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	και ελαι[ου	
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	/αργ[υριου	30
$\chi^{\eta} \kappa \delta c$	χαλκου	

This text, giving the names of unguents, has the figures at the right side almost all destroyed, which is very regrettable, as there are prices both in silver and copper, but (I think) independent of each other. In the figures at the left side we have χ^{β} , χ^{δ} , χ^{η} , &c., signifying, I suppose, the number of χοεs. The figures before the χ in the left column must be αμφορεις (μετρηται), which held 12 choes, which again held 12 kotylæ. In the lower half of the left column there are sums of money after the amounts of measure. In l. 16, right column, the sum may mean μετρηται τρεις χοεις τεσσαρες κοτυλαι τεσσαρες. The κ has in every case a little hook at the top, which indicates κοτυλαι. The word νεονχωων, written plainly, is evidently an Egyptian unguent which had no Greek name. Ερετρικον is new, but to be explained like Eau de Cologne, the place of production being used to distinguish it.

(a)		z' 2	
COL. 1.	COL. 2.	COL. 3.	
πυ]ρρ[ου] φαλιον		εδοθη εις τους μισθοφορους L σ δαισιου	
απ[ο]λλωνιος δολοψ		σπαλακ[α] H	
† † (erasure) πυρραν θ			
ερμ]αισκος κυρηναιος		νιος Αρ . . . των . . . ης	
† † (erasure) παρο . ν θ		εδοθη εις τους μισθοφορους L σ [δα]ισιου	
αρισταιος λακων		. . . . . πυρραν ψακαδισχιους ?	6
† † (erasure) πυρραν ψακ[αδ]ισσαν θ		]ναβολον θ	
δ . . τιμοδημος κυρηναιος	μελανθιος ηρακλειωτ[	]εν τωι εL	
† † (erasure) μελανοσπαλακισσαν θ ν	L δ γορπιαιου	]ς ευβιστ . . λαρισαιος	
ε τηρης θραιξ	]αλλιωνή μελανων	μαλοπαρναν πρωτοβολον θ	10
† † (erasure) μαλοπαρναν θ	δεπρογαλουκ . ? θ	]οσγρ επιστολην προστηπαρχουσιν ? ιππους	
πολεμων	ατταλος θραιξ	τ]ων εν τωι εL παραγεγονοτων	
† † (erasure)		βουαιος	
τως θ . . [	αθηνοδωρ[ος	. . . νης δημητριου του . . . (whole line erased)	16
αριστοκλης ολυνθιος	ουθ . . . L ε υπερβ[ε]ρεταιου	αρ	
† † (erasure) πυρραν φαλιαν	]α . πω ωσαντως[	αρκας	
ψακαδισσαν θ	]εφαλια[	λευκον αρς	
και H θ πυρρα η' σ			

[115]

The erasure begins with ως in all cases : I think it is ωσαντως. The two symbols opening the lines are ιπ(παρχας) πρ(ωτης).

XXXV.

A REGISTER OF CAVALRY HORSES.

These two fragments of the columns of an official return, which probably fit as I have placed them, and certainly belong to the same sheet, long remained an unsolved puzzle on my hands, till a lucky moment suggested the clue. It is a return of the horses, perhaps furnished to, certainly possessed by, certain mercenaries, for which the latter were, probably, responsible to the state. I have already mentioned (Part I., p. 42) the occurrence of *ιπποσκοποι*, of whose work the present scraps may be a specimen. The dates refer us to the early years of Ptolemy III., but subsequent to his great campaign into Asia. We have, as usual, soldiers from the four winds of heaven—and here they are *μισθοφοροι* (concerning which class see above, p. [107]). Luckily, the second piece, recently found, gives us the formula of the headings: "There was granted to the mercenaries in the year 6, month Daisios" (no day of month mentioned). The list follows (*cf.* col. 1): "Apollonios, the Dolopian of the 1st Hipparchy a bay mare [*θη(λειαν)*], Hermaiskos, the Cyrenaeon, likewise (erased) a bay mare, &c. But now we come to new and strange words, which have, at last, yielded their sense to me. *ψακ[αδ]ισσαν* (l. 7), supplied from other instances, is a word perfectly unknown to the Lexica; but when we compare it with *σπαλακισσαν*, which occurs presently, it is clearly the colour of a horse. *σπαλαξ* is mentioned by Hesychius as a colour of horse (*cf.* Lat. *spadix*), or mole-coloured, the mole known as *σφαλαξ* being of a dark chesnut colour. *ψακας*, by analogy, would mean spotted, as it were with rain-drops, and therefore our *dappled*. The compound *μελανο-σπαλακισσα*, therefore, means iron-grey or dark-dappled. *μαλοπαφανος* = *λευκοπαρειος* (Hesychius). So *φαλιος* is given by him as an equivalent for *φαλαρος*, and we have (l. 16) a bay mare with a white star. In the following line a dappled mare, and a filly foal (sigle = *πωλος*) bay, six months old (the symbol for months, which I read *μη*, is very obscure). We have further the words *πρωτοβολος*, which means a horse that has shed his first pair of teeth—*i.e.* a two-year-old—and *]υαβολον*, which I cannot complete. The word (col. 3, l. 5) *ψακαδισχιος* is very doubtful as to its termination, and, if it mean with dappled thighs, points to a variety of colour which does not occur among our horses. Bay seems to be predominant, but we have also black, white, and dappled, for certain. The large proportion of mares to horses points to some arrangement for securing the breeding of horses in the country. The sigle at the foot of col. 3, composed, apparently, of *αρς* and *υ* over them, I cannot explain. *αρσην* is not likely to appear in this Greek, since *αρρην* was long naturalized in Attic. The dates are somewhat irregular. We have (col. 2) the years 4 and 5, again (col. 3) 6 and 5, certainly of Ptolemy III., thus fixing the date of the list between 244 and 240 B.C.

XXXV.

A REGISTER OF CAVALRY HORSES.

I believe I have found on another fragment the heading of this very account. It is dark brown papyrus of the same quality, and the writing, though much larger, as is often the case in the headings, is quite of the same character. What remains is, however, only slight. Inside a broad margin above and on the left we have, enclosed with a large bracket—

(b)	(c)
ετους σ[
γραμματ[ειον των	<i>On the verso is an account in large writing, viz.:—</i>
ιππων πρ[	αλεξιων
των εν τω[ι	τετακται ζL X ιβ
.. ..	αντιφανης μακεδων
και κατ[	<i>and a few more illegible words.</i>
επιστο[

Here is yet another piece of the same account, which I cannot fit to the rest, viz.:—

(d)
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{μενεδημος χαλκιδευς[} \\ \text{πυρραν φαλιαν } \overset{\circ}{\eta} \text{ ρυγχειαιε[} \\ \text{Γδ των αυτων} \\ \text{πολεμων αρ . . . χρον παιων} \\ \text{σπαλακος υπα . να .} \\ \text{. ερμιων} \\ \text{παρουαμ } \theta \\ \text{π ευπολεμος} \\ \text{μελαμψ[} \end{array} \right.$

The broken words at the end of ll. 2 and 9 I cannot guess. $\overset{\circ}{\eta}$ is probably *ηθαδα*, *trained*. On the reverse are fragments of the same accounts as are found on the previous scrap. ζL, appearing here also, suggests that the *verso* was written one year later than the *recto*.

XXXVI.
FARM SURVEYS

(1)

N' I, 2, *Recto* (*verso blank*).

Λϙ φαμενωθ ιϙ παρα ιμουθου
αωιλια ? κληρων ? μετρηθεντ[ων
επ]ι ? τη διωρυγι τη προς λιβα ηφαιστι
αδος προς νοτον της κλεωνος
δ]ιωρυγος συμπαραντος τεωτος
]ε σεμθεως του παρα τεωτος
]ιλικα[] T και ταρυωι ? σουκιος
του παρ αρμοδιου γεωμετρου

και εχομενα προς απηλι
ωτην σχοινια β πλατος β
βαθος α αωιλια ροβ
και κατα λεπτον λε/Σζ/αο . .

εις το αυτο αω[ιλ]ια αφια

(*Rest of col. blank*)

τ]ωι αλεξανδρου ιππεως κληρωι
ηφαιστιαδος τα ορυχθεντα 10
απ]ολλωνιου του αριστογενους
οτωι εξ ηφαιστιαδος

. . ρου ? σχοινια ε
πλατος γ βαθος α
/αωιλια τλθ 15

και αλλα σχοινια β
πλατος β βα α /λωια ρ
/υκθ

κ]αι εχομενα προς νοτον επι
βορραν του αντιλοχου ιππεως 20
κληρ]ου εν παλαιαι []
πρ]ος λιβα[] εχομενα
ιππεως κληρωι τωι[.] λη
φθεντι εις το βασιλικον σχοινια ε
και εχομενα προς λιβα εν τωι 25
αλεξανδρου του πλαταικου ιππεως
κληρωι σχοινια ε
/σχοινια ιε πλατος γ
βαθος α αωιλια ωξζι-

(2)

Zc 6 (*A different account*)

σωι φιλιππω υπαρη
/της ημερας αυλα ιβ
και τοις ? περι κερκεοσιριω εις επιβολην
εις τα διακομματα παλαιων χωματων
εν τη μισθοφορωι ρα . ιγ
/του μηνος αωξησιγιε
εις το αυτο αυωιλια βωπδ
εις ξ των δλ λρqb
λνα[

I have brought together, at l. 23, two pieces in the same hand, and shattered in the same way. A third small fragment at present fixed into the junction, and containing but two or three letters, may be foreign to it. Though many words are uncertain, it tells us of the measurement of certain farms, of an officer called the *geometer* (*surveyor*), and also repeats several times the mysterious word *αωιλια*, or *λωιλια*, apparently a measure which I have not yet interpreted. Owing to the occurrence of the same word, I have added another fragment (ZC 6), not from the same papyrus, upon which we have even the curious formula "up to 60 for every 4" which occurred in IV. 11.

There seems to be the variant *αυωιλια* here, but the reading is not certain.

[118]

XXXVII.

REPORTS ABOUT IRRIGATION.

Ξ' 1a Recto.

]σεται
 τριωτοι και δ[]ς καλως ουν
 ποιησεις συνταξας εξεπι . ?
 στείλαι Ανουχιωι ιππεις των
 σοι ? περι του θριωι θεωνι γραψας
 ευτονωτερον

 . λλη ησαν ανεωιγμεναι
 ησαν τη εγβατηριαι αφεσεων
 . . ωι εν ποταμωι θυραι β θυρα Α
 και απο των κατα Πτολεμαιδα
 αφεσεων αλλη[. . .] και προτερον
 η Διογενην σοι γραψαι ηνωιξα
 μεν των κατα Πτολεμαιδα
 τη ια θυ[ραν] α και νυν δε κο
 μισαμενοι την παρα σου επιστο
 λην τη ιβ αν[ωιξ]α την αλλην α
 ωστ ειναι τας ενεργουσας ? θυρας δ
 καλως ουν ποιησεις (συνταξα)
 τηρειν το χωμα το ? απο του κατα
 πτολε[μαιδα ?] του μεγαλου χω
 ματος εξε[υγμενου . πο]σειδωνιος

Ξ' 1 Verso.

και
 εκτης α[
 καλως ουν ποιησεις ε[
 επισκεψαμενος ινα α[πο]κα
 ταστησωσιν αυτα εις[. . .]τον
 νομον ειληφασιν[. . . .]τα
 δι εμου

Ξ' 1b Recto and Ξ' 2.

[Ends of nine lines over this (on Ξ' 2)
 give full height of col.]

ε
 παρεχωσιν[]ειλη
 φασιν και παρεχεν ? []σεις υπαρ
 χωσιν
 5 Διογενει π[αρα]διαμαρτυ
 ρομενος ους ?[]ωννης
 ο εκ Ψεναρυ[
 φασκων τωι πλε[]τα ε]ργα
 εν τωι πεδιωι εφ α δ[ει ?] ι
 10 ιδια ? αναβληθηναι [. .]ι
 ινα μη του υδατος αφ[ε]θεντος
 εις κεινον
 δια του σωληνος φερ[η]ται
 δια το μη επικεχωσ[θ]αι
 τα διακομματα καλω[ς] ουν
 15 ποιησεις φροντισας δι[α μ]εν δει
 ταυτα εργασθηναι | ο γαρ
 καιρος ουδεμιας υ[περ]βολης
 προσδειται

(end of col.)

(Ξ' 2 Recto contains another shattered
 col. and half of a third, but too
 effaced and broken to be restored
 to any connected sense.)

XXXVII.

REPORTS ABOUT IRRIGATION.

Ξ' 2a Verso. (Top of col.)

διονυσίωι
 αν ? . . .
 παραφρυγαν[ισμο .
 των κατα πτολημ[αιδα
 εων πλεονων
 θυρων ανεωιγμεν[ων
 υπο της βιας του υδα[τος
 και ενκλειναντος τ[ου
 ρευματος εις το προς
 ιηλ?
 βορραν μερος . . .
 καλως συν
 γαμον . ν ? (erasure)
 ποιησεις αποστειλας
 εμινιωανουχι οτι
 πλειστον ου γαρ
 δυναμαι ανθ[ι]στανειν
 εως αν ? οχυ[ρωθ]ηι

Ξ' 2b Verso. (End of second col.,
 remains of 23 lines over it.)
 It fits to the verso of Ξ' 1, from
 which I have completed the later
 lines.

ιδ παννι γεγραφας μοι α παραγ[
 εκ Σεβεννυτον ευρειν την ιχ[
 δρων . . λα συντελεστων εγ σ
 επισκεψαμενος εν αρχηι α δ[ει] γενεσθαι
 εργα
 ε . . ις[. . .] διονυσιωι εν υπομνηματι
 δ . . καλως ποιησεις διονυσιον
 τι . ενα . σασ (effaced)

Ξ' 2c Verso.

θεοφιλωι καθαπερ εγραψας
 μοι ευ[]οσας εγδε[]δεχθαι
 αρισταρχον τον νομαρχην
 προσαξειν την ημεραν
 Ανουχιος γομους νγ[]σι
 γιν ν ωσαντως δε και
 τους λοιπους νομαρχας
 ο αν προσαχογωσι γιν[εσθ]αι ?
 επιμελως καθ ημεραν
 Διονυσιωι ουδετι και νυν επι την εφεσ[ιν
 των επι των
 . . μοντιλαν ο παρα νικ[]εθωρω ται ?

(Another partial column here.)

All the documents on both sides of these fragments are in the same hand, and seem to refer to the same subject. In the columns not here transcribed a great many isolated words are easy to read, but I have nowhere succeeded in restoring any connected sense. I leave them, therefore, to the ingenuity of some future inquirer.

XXXVIII.

LEGAL DOCUMENTS.

Θ'

(α)

[Autotyped.]

σεμφθει κωμογραμματαί
 λυσιμαχίδος παρα σωσιου
 του σωσου κρητος και ηρα-
 κλειτου του θοινου απολλω-
 νιατου των δυο της επιγονης 5
 και σωσιβιου μακεδονος των
 υπο φυλεα λχ κληρουχου
 του ενος ημων σωσιβιου
 κεκληρουχημενου περι
 λυσιμαχιδα του αρσινουτου 10
 νομου και μεμισθωκοτος
 εις το ΖΛ τον κληρον κατα
 δυο μερη σωσαι και ηρα-
 κλειτωι τοις προδεδηλω-
 μενοις και αυτου του σωσιβιου 15
 κατα το τριτον μέρος συν-
 γεωργουντος συνηγμενων
 δε των εκ του κληρου γενη-
 ματων χορτικων εν αυτωι
 τωι κληρωι προς τηι απο απη- 20
 λιωτου κεφαληι και ηδη
 μιας μεν αλω συνεπλη-
 ρωμενης των δε αλων ουσων
 θηκων τηι κδ του επειφ
 του ΖΛ εφοδευοντες περι? 25
 .]την? δεκατην ευρομεν τον
 ..]σκασεσ . μεπ[
]αλλ[α . . ει[

"To Semphthis, the village-secretary of Lysimachis, from Sosias, son of Sosos, the Cretan, and Herakleitos, son of Thoinos, the Apolloniate, both of the *Epigone*, and Sosibios, the Macedonian, of the corps under Phyleus, a landowner of 30 arouræ. One of us, Sosibios, having received his lot near Lysimachis, in the Arsinoite nome, and having let his lot for the 7th year, as regards $\frac{2}{3}$ of it, to Sosias and Herakleitos, the above-named, and Sosibios himself working the remaining third along with them—the produce of the lot in green crop being gathered in the lot itself at its head, which is to the west, and one threshing floor being already filled (the threshing floors being used as stores), on the 24th of Epeiph of the 7th year as we went to [settle about P] the tithe, we find"—

The actual complaint and the rest of the document are gone. It was clearly and carefully written, and the facts in the preserved preamble are not without interest. The complaint is made by Greeks to an Egyptian official. The owner of the farm was evidently not a cavalry soldier, and perhaps 30 acres may have been an ordinary size of an infantry *lot*. The farm evidently lay in a strip running down the slope of the Fayyûm, from the canal along the high level, and so the crop was carried up to the west end for the purpose of conveyance by water, when sold. More we cannot tell.

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI, PART II.

Q [121]

(b)

Δ' 1 *Recto.* A fine hand, with answer scrawled on the back.

[Autotyped.]

11
 Ὁρος Ἀρμαεὶ χαιρεῖν προσπεπτῶκε μοι παρὰ πλείωνων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ νομοῦ
 καταπεπλευκοτῶν τὸ ἐλαίον π[ωλ]εῖσθαι πλείονος τιμῆς τῆς ἐν τῷ προσταγμα[τι]
 διασεσφαφημένης παρὰ δέ σου οὐθ[ε]ν ἡμῖν προσπεφώνηται οὐδ' ἰμουθὴ τ[ω]
 υἱῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τοπῶν μεταδεδωκα[τ]ε ἐτι οὖν καὶ νῦν διασαφήσον μοι πῶς πωλεῖται
 τὸ ἐλαίον ἐν τοῖς κατὰ σέ τοποῖς ὅπως ἀνεγκώμεν ἐπὶ θεογενῆν τὸν διοικητὴν 5
 καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν δ' ἐπι[μ]έλēs ὑμῖν τι[θε]σθῶν εἰάν τι τοιοῦτο γίνηται ἡ παραλογευνῶνται
 οἱ γεωργοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡ εἰάν ἄλλο τι ἀδίκημα γίνηται γράφειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἡ ἰμουθὴ τῷ
 υἱῷ ἐπὶ τῶν τοπῶν ἐπιδίδοναι ὅπῃ[ς] δια τούτου πεμπῆται ἡμῖν καὶ ἀναφερῶμεν
 ἐπὶ τὸν διοικητὴν ἐρρωσο Λε παννὶ ιϛ

On the back, in large letters, Α]ρμαεὶ

Verso.

[Autotyped.]

ἀρμαῖς ὥρῳ χαιρεῖν ἀνεγνων τὴν παρὰ σου ἐπιστολὴν ἐν ἣ γράφεις περὶ τοῦ πωλεῖσθαι τὸ ἐλαίον πλείονος τιμῆς
 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἡροτέων σοὶ τυγχάνειν . . [] ὅτι ἐάν τῳ
 νοὶ καὶ συναπο εἰσιασι ἐνὲς
 οὐκ ἐπακουσθέντες δὲ ἡμῖν περὶ ἐν

"Horos to Armais, greeting. It has transpired to me from many who have come down by water from the nome that oil is sold at a higher price than that fixed in the Royal decree, whereas from you not a word has been uttered, nor to Imouthes, my son, who is on the spot, have you given any information. Even now let me know how oil is being sold in your district, that we may report it to Theogenes the Controller, and for the future make it your business, if any abuse arise (?), or the farmers or others make a false return, or any other breach of the law occur, to write to us, or to tell my son Imouthes, who is on the spot, in order that by him it may be sent to us, and we may submit it to the Controller.

Good-bye, year 5, Payni 16."

The rough draft of the answer is also on the back, but I have only been able to explain the first line—the rest being blurred or effaced—it opens, "Armais to Horos, greeting: I have read your letter, in which you write about the oil being sold at a higher price. But I and Heroteon"—of the rest I can only read single words. I hope the reader may succeed better. Here, then, we have two Egyptian officials corresponding in Greek about the local affairs of the nome, and this in the year 242 B.C. They are both under the Greek controller, but also, themselves, superior and inferior, and Horos has a son, Imouthes, who is evidently a sub-official in the district under Armais.

XXXVIII.

LEGAL DOCUMENTS.

(c)

Μ' 2 (*Recto*). Αρμαιοι Αφθον[ηται χαιρειν της γε]γε
 νημενης υπογραφης υπο των
τα προσπιπτοντα
 κρινοντων χρηματ[ιστων
 υποτεθεικαμεν σ[ο]ι [το αντιγραφον ?
 (Λιθ υπερβερεταιου κε] 5
 (δια Ζωιλου του Ηφαιστιωνος)
 παρα Ακιλημου [
 Αρτεμιδωρου[
 ταζεγυματα[
 κατασταντος[10
 Σωκλεους[

*The last line of the column ends with αντιγραφον
 which leads into the first line of the verso.*

This long narrow strip has, on the *recto*, forty-four lines, so much mutilated and effaced that I only quote the first eleven lines to help me in explaining the *verso*, on which the text is continued, as the writer simply turned over the strip, and continued in the inverted order. This gives us at least the names concerned and the date, which is bracketed out, but repeated at the end. The additional names, Soeles, Aristippus, and Ammonius, also occur, but the connexion is lost.

We have no evidence whether the Aphthonetos here mentioned is the Strategus we found above (under XII.), but if so, he remained in office many years. At the opening the writer refers to a minute probably written at the foot of the document presented to the assizes judges, and it is to this that the letter seems to refer. The unusual month mentioned, Hyperberetaeos, which corresponds to our October-November, and comes just after or about the late inundation, suggests that these judges may have visited their circuit towns during the inundation, when other work was in abeyance.

[123]

XXXVIII.

LEGAL DOCUMENTS.

(c)

(*Verso*). της απεσταλμενης εντευξε[45
 προς τους?] τα προσπ[ιπτ]τον[τα
 κρινοντας χρημ[α]τιστ[ας
 δουναι αυτωι κ[αι] παραιτει[σθαι
 κ[ατα]πλειν εις [Αλε]ξανδρει[αν
 εν ταις κατα το διαγραμμα 50
 ημεραις εχοντα και τα προ[ς
 την καταστασιν δικαιωματα
 εαν μ[η] π[αρα]γεν[η]ται
 δ[ο]θ[η]σει[α]ι τωι Απ[ο]λλωνιωι
 το αξιωμα εαν δε παραγενο- 55
 μενου αυτου Απολλωνιος
 μ[η] λαβηι το αξιωμα [α]πο
 τ[ει]σει αυτωι τα γενομενα
 εις το]ν καταπλουν [α]ν[η]λω
 μα]τα και περι βουτων ον αν 60
 τρο]πον οικονομηθ[η]ι αντιγρα
 ψον] προς αυτον λιθ^{[μην]ος υπερβηρεταιου κ[ε]}
 του η[φαι]στιου
 δια Ζωιλου ε[ντευξ]εως

Translation.—"That the assize-judges who decide the cases brought before them should give him a copy of the petition sent them, and request him to sail down to Alexandria within the days specified in the edict, having with him the papers justifying his case. If he does not come in time, the assessment(?) shall be given to Apollonios; but if, when he arrives, Apollonios will not accept the assessment, Apollonios must pay the other the expenses of the journey; and as regards the cow-herds(?), write to him as to management of the details. Year 19, Hyperbēretaeos 25, the request brought by Zoilus, son of Hephastion." This translation is only tentative. In the Louvre papyri, διαγραμμα seems to mean assessment, or official list for taxing purposes. Αξιωμα elsewhere generally means a claim, a petition, which hardly makes good sense here. The β in βουτων (l. 60) is quite clear, though odd in form, and we should rather have expected ρουτων. We should also expect οφειλησεται, or αποτεισει, in l. 54, but I cannot find either in the traces still extant. The rest of the *verso* is blank.

[124]

XXXIX.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

(a)

N° 2 (*recto*)

Ηρακλειδῆι Ἰσοκράτους Μιτυλην[αίωι
 δι' Ἀρβίχιος κωμαρχοῦ εἰς τὸν κροτωνος[
 Νικομαχοῦ ἧ των πρεσβυτερων[ἧ
 περὶ Κερκεσησιν τῆς Ἀχολπίος νομ[αρ
 χίας εἰς Χ μ κροτωνος γ 5
 Παιτί Φαμητος καὶ Πασίτι Ωρου κ[αι
 Πασίτι Κολουμβίος εἰς τὴν ξυλίτιν
 τὴν περὶ Ἀττινου Ἰσιεῖον τῆς α[υτῆς?
 νομαρχίας εἰς Χ κ κροτωνος α[λ
 Νεωνί γεωργῶι εἰς τὸν Λυσίππου? ἧ[10
 τὸν περὶ Ηρακλείαν τῆς Φιλίππου
 νομαρχίας εἰς Χ ν κροτωνος γλ
 Κλεονικῶι ε[λ]ς τὸν Ἀσκληπῶνος καὶ
 Σωπατροῦ πρεσβυτερων κληρων? σ? [
 οὗς γεωργεῖ περὶ Σεβεννυτον 15
]χοῦ νομαρχίας εἰς Χ κ[
 τῶνος? αλ
 (*Three effaced lines*) 20
]βασιλικὴν γῆν καὶ πρε[σβυτερων
 κληρων περ]ι Κερκεσουχα ὠσαντω[ς
]κροτωνος . ad

On verso minute accounts, covered with plaster.

κροτων is the castor oil plant from which κικί (lamp-oil) was made. It appears that 14½ per cent. of these farms was planted with this crop. According to the suggestion made under XXIX. ἧ probably stands for κληρος; and there is also a title, "the elder κληροί," which points to two allotments of land. Were these allotments made before and after the formal Ptolemaic settlement of the nome, or were they the lots of the original veterans, and those of the ἐπιγονή? The form αττινου, l. 8 (a proper name?), seems to occur also in Part I., Pl. XIX. Ἀσκληπῶν occurs in inscriptions as a proper name. The Egyptians mentioned in ll. 6-9, do not own a κληρος like the rest, but are assessed for the ξυλίτις round somebody's shrine of Isis. What does this mean?

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XXXIX.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

(b)

Za 2

$\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ τουλωι . . .	$\gamma=L\alpha F$	
$\overline{\kappa\delta}$ κομολπιος $\overset{\sigma}{\sigma}$	$cL\delta$	
πετοσιριος $\overset{\sigma}{\omega}$	$\delta L\beta$	
ορσενουπιος $\overset{\sigma}{\omega}$	$a=[L]-$	
$\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ εν τωι κολλευτ . .	. . $L\iota\delta$	5
ωρου του νεκτενιβι[ος	$]L\delta[-$	
εν τωι? μαρρεους	$[ι\epsilon]-L\zeta[-$	
$\overline{\kappa\sigma}$ τεχενσεθως []	$L\alpha\sigma\nu$	
εν τωι κομολπι[]	$\lambda\eta L\lambda$	
εν τωι παλευιος? [	$\kappa]aL\iota\lambda$	10
εν τωι ωρου ιναρωντος	$c-L\gamma-$	
$\overline{\kappa\zeta}$ του αωιτος σωμα	$\iota\beta=L\sigma-$	
$\overline{\kappa\eta}$ ωρος νεχθενιβιος	$\iota\gamma]-L\sigma[F$	
]του σοκεως σωματων	$\beta]-L\alpha=$	
$\tau[. . .]$ το λωιτος $\overset{\sigma}{\sigma}$	$\iota\gamma\omega\sigma L=\iota$	15
του παιτος $\overset{\sigma}{\omega}$	$\beta=L\alpha-$	
του ωρου ιναρωντος	$\zeta L\gamma\iota$	
$\overline{\kappa\theta}$ του τοτοιτος	$\alpha\iota\sigma L]-\sigma\nu$	
κολλ κοινου	$\kappa L\iota\epsilon?$	
ορσα	..	20
τοτ	..	

Mr. Sayce, reading $\overset{\sigma}{\sigma}$ as $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ for *slave*, suggests that $\overset{\sigma}{\omega}$ means $\omega\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omega\varsigma$ likewise. I add to his readings this fact, that L in the above document appears for the sign of division by 2, almost all the sums following it being halves of what goes before. The only plain exoeption is l. 2 where half c should be γ , and I suppose δ is a mistake. Ll. 18 and 19 are too indistinct to be quoted with certainty. The rest are quite manifest, viz. 3 dr. 2 obols, L 1 dr. 4 obols; in other words, 20 obols L 10 obols; 1. 3, 4 L 2; 1. 4, 1 dr. 2 obols L 4 obols. Then l. 14, 2 dr. 4 obols L 1 dr. 2 obols; and so on. I may refer the reader to another series of such accounts, published in the *Notices et Extraits* of the MSS. of the Louvre (Pap. 66, 67). There are many, but far later, in the new publications of the British Museum. As the Editor there remarks, it is only from the comparison of a great number of them that we shall learn their meaning.

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XXXIX.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

(c)

[Autotyped.]

]παρ[α] θεοδοτου
 λογος προσοδου? πα]γιδων
 των εν τη διωρυγι
 του κατα πτολεμαιδα
 ορμου του θωνθ 5
 Γ καλατυριος λογειας ε[$L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$]δ
 Δ ωρου νεχθениβιος ζ[$L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$] γ[
 κομοαπιας λογειας ι $L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$ ζ[
 σοκεως σωμαματων η= $L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$ δ—
]αλευιος λογειας ε= $L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$ γ— 10
 ορσενουφιος σωματων β= $L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$ α—
 Ε καλατυριος λογειας ιθ[$L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$ ιδ[
 ωρου ιναρωντος λογειας ζ $L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$ γ=ε
 ωρου νεχθениβιος ε $L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$ βι
 σολοιτος λογειας δ $L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$ β 15
 &c., &c.

This account is given as a fine specimen of Ptolemaic writing.

It seems needless to write out the rest, as the reader can easily decipher it from the autotype. The suggestion παγιδων I made long ago, when Mr. Sayce first published his transcription in *Hermathena*, No. xvii. (1891). There can be little doubt that the fishing of the lake and its outlets were taxed, but the details are very difficult. I take it the Government (Royal) share was not less than one-half, as appears from most of the above items; but in the cases of Kalaturis and Komoapis, *e.g.* ll. 6, 12, the proportion appears to be $\frac{2}{3}$. Nor do I know what λογειας means, unless it be taxing assessment. We know, in both Turin and BM papyri, λογευτης, a tax collector, the verb λογευω, and even παραλογεω (above, p. [122], l. 6), in the sense of falsifying a return on the part of the people taxed; in the Louvre Pap. 61, παραλογειας is used for dishonesty on the part of the tax gatherers. We have also in the Pap. Casati, λογειων, tithes (in kind) collected by the Cholchytæ, and in the Brit. Mus. Pap. xxiv. 7, ελογευεν in this sense.

The symbols $L\overset{\alpha}{\beta}$, which occur in each line, probably mean the share (a half) coming to the Crown (βασιλικον). In l. 9 σωμαματων is apparently a blunder for σωματων, which means slaves. The slight traces of the next col. on the right show that the account was continued through many other items, probably to the end of the month. The writing is inaccurate, and has such variants as χεστωυτης for the common name Χεσθωυτης, showing, perhaps, that the Egyptian aspirate was not very distinct.

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XXXIX.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

(d)

Σ Ι

εις κατα[
 εν σεβεννυ[ωι
 ωστε επισκοπον[και ?
 γραμματικον
 γινεται αρϚ ∠ ς[6
 χα φ
 λοιπαι αρϚ ∠ η (ορ κ)
 αν βφ
 χαλκου π[
 /κζςΞ[10
 τουτων
 χορτου δεσμων φη α[
 οψου
 ακουσιλαω παιδαριω .[
 κευην κλειδοποιω 15
 τιμην κλειδων
 /παφ ?
 φαωφι
 Α κριθης πορειοις β χ[
 ιερειω ΧΔ 20
 Β κριθης πορειοις ? χ
 ιερειωι ΧΔ
 Γ κριθης ..[

This scrap, first read by Mr. Sayce, is worth giving on account of the curious terms it contains. The account seems to be in those collateral silver and bronze currencies which give us so much trouble. That a γραμματικός, green fodder, and keys should appear together, is odd enough, but the readings are certain. Then πορειοις used with κριθης can hardly mean anything but *carriage*, and yet for this we elsewhere have φορετρον. The omission of the ι postscript, in dative forms, so common in later papyri, appears here only (I think) in these papers, and in a fine and careful hand. We also find the full γινεται for the usual /, thus proving the correctness of that interpretation of the symbol (a cursive γ).

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[Autotyped.]

- (1) (e) (5) διαχωμα
 /Ξαίβ^L Lμετρειβ^L
 φυλακτικον γ
 λειτουργικον ιγ
 ιατρικον β/ιη
 Ω ω ?" 5
 (a demotic note.)
- (2) (6) σιτου β^L ιατρικον [β
 τέ? πυθαγορας αθηναιος
 οκίδι? ορφανος υ
 β^L τριηραρχημα ε
 διαχωμα δγ
 βυρσης η/ιε 10
 οικον β^L χωματι^a λ^aεφ
 /αργ[υρ]ιον ιζγ^a λ^aεφ
 (a demotic note.)
- (3) (7) ουκ εστιν
 ορφανος
 αλλα
 υιος
 δαφαν
 του
 αδυμος μακεδ[ων
 β^L τριηραρχημ[α
 διαχωμα 15
 βυρσης
 οικον β^L χωματι[κον
 /αργυριου ιζ—[
- (4) (8) σιτου β^L ιατρικον β
 φυλακτικον γ
 ανιππιας λγ^Lσθή 15
 λειτουργικον μ/ση^Lρή
 α^L στεφανου ια^Lή
 αλλουπαρουσιας? ιβ
 ιατρικον β
 λειτουργικον μ/ξεή 20
 /ρμδ
- (5) (9) σιτου β^L ιατρικον
 φυλακτικον 20
 λειτουργικον
 ανιππιας . [
- (6) (10) α^L στεφανου
 αλλουπαρουσιας?
 ιατρικον 25
 /νβγ
- (7) (11) σιτου β^L ιατρικον
 φυλακτικον
 λειτουργικον
 ανιππιας . [
- (8) (12) α^L στεφανου
 αλλουπαρουσιας?
 ιατρικον 25
 /νβγ

XXXIX.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

On this curious text I have only conjectures to offer. It appears to be a list of taxes paid by orphans, and we know that these (and widows), in some Greek States, had peculiar burdens, such as keeping horses, because they were unable to contribute in person to the defence of their city. But these little city arrangements would have no meaning in Egypt. Still I can offer no other explanation. Thus beside the name Adymos the Macedonian (col. (7), l. 13) is scribbled the note, "He is not an orphan, but the son of Daiphantos." In the items appended to each name it is easy to understand the police-tax (*φυλακ.*), the medical or dispensary-tax (*ιατρικον*), and the dyke-tax (*χωματικον*); but then, what does *διαχωμα* mean? and it seems very bold to translate *ανιππιας*, "for having no horse," and, still worse, *αλλουπαρουσιας*, "for absenteeism." The Greek of these people was not barbarous. The Lexica quote *παρουσια* in the sense of *property*. *περυσιας* (nom.) seems to mean *last year's*, but neither reading nor grammar will allow us to translate *for another* (crown) *of last year*. *τριηραρχημα* (but why not *τριηραρχικον*?) might be the tax for equipping a ship of war; *λειτουργικον* and *οικονομικον* for some state services not included in the rest. *βυρσης* is beyond even random conjectures. It has no known meaning but a hide or tanned skin. There are demotic notes verifying (I suppose) the items. *φυλακ.* and *ιατρ.* seem invariably followed by *γ* and *β* respectively; not so the rest. The arithmetic is not difficult. There is ((2) l. 12) the occurrence of silver and copper sums collaterally which we meet elsewhere; and in the following account we may thus explain the additions. $2 + 3 + 33\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8} + 40 = 78\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{8}$ tallies (l. 15). Then follows $11\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8} + 12 + 2 + 40 = 65\frac{1}{2}$ (l. 19) where $\frac{1}{2}$ is omitted in the tot. These sums make up 144 exactly. Then $2 + 3 + 8 = 13$. But the figure at the bottom, with the sign of remainder \cap before it, is only 131. It is evidently 144-13. The same kind of subtraction takes place in (6). The writing is so difficult, that there may be errors in the transcription, but the autotype has turned out so well, that any scholar can attack from it the difficulties of the text. There does not seem to be anything similar in the Louvre papyri, nor can I find elsewhere any parallel to help me. Some of the terms for the taxes occur in the fragment next printed.

We find *στεφανιον* used in Pap. 42 of the Louvre for gratification (in money), so that possibly αL *στεφανου* may mean a national present to the king on his accession, which though voluntary in theory, was really collected by the tax-office. While the small gift to a private man might be called *στεφανιον*, the national gift to the king would naturally be called *στεφανος*. In the thrice repeated phrase *εις την* (or *τους*) *μετρι βτ*, the variation in the article, and the last letters which I cannot read as *η*, prevent me from suggesting *εις την μετρησιν του δευτερου ετους*, which would be the obvious solution. There is also another strange feature. Though we have apparently the openings of six of the eight several accounts, and their conclusions, there are only proper names at the head of (2) and (4). The opening of (2) has *τε*, probably *τετακται*, in the sense of *has paid*; the abbreviations before *ορφανος* I do not understand, possibly *ο κληρωι ιδιωι*.

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XXXIX.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

(f)

M' 4

Top of Sheet.

	ολυμπιχος αγελαου του λσL χωματικον [†ι]ε φυλακιτικον †βδδ' 5
	/†ιε=†βδδ' του λζL χωματικ[ον †ιε αλικης †γ φυλακιτικον †βδδ'
Some	/†ιη †βδδ' 10
figures	του ληL χωματικ †ις αλικης †γ φυλακι †γ
of the	/†ιθ†γ
previous	/†νς=†ηλζή εις τουτο πεπτωκεν 15
column	Lλς φαμενωθ εις το λςLX[
here.	Lλς φαμενωθ ε̄ εις το λςLX̄= αλικης †γ[] /ιγ|=†ιθ Lλζ μεσορη η̄ ε[X̄ †ις αλικης[20 Lλη μεσορη ζ[X̄†ις αλικ[εις το [καιματιει? L[λζL κ[25

M' 4, 5, 6, &c. Several fragments, in the same hand and dating, from the closing years of Ptolemy II. The curious way in which the dates move up and down (37, 38, 36, 38) surprises us; apparently the tax was paid partly in drachmæ, indicated by †, partly in corn, †γ for πυρον. I cannot find that the various pieces are consecutive; that they belong to the same sheet is certain; on the back of 4 is apparently ειστοπ...? and quite apart, two figures, so: $\frac{\mu\alpha}{\xi\alpha\beta}$.

The reader must remember that the various *sigles* are very inadequately reproduced by any modern printing. ζ stands here for $\frac{1}{2}$.

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XXXIX.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

M' 5 is not worth copying out in detail, but has an unusual word for *pasture*, or *pasture-tax*, viz.:—]το λζL εννομιας ως and]εννομιον (*followed by lost figures*) ending /τ ριε.

M' 6, 7, 8 are small pieces with all the same features as 4.

I think this is the only document I have yet found which mentions (l. 11) the 38th (and last) year of Ptolemy II. Several of the features of the last account are here again found. We have the dyke-tax and the police-tax, also the salt-tax as αλικης, a genitive form not uniform with the others, like the ανιππιας of the former list. The new feature here is the combined π and υ for πυρον, and the payment partly in money, partly in kind. The tot in l. 14 should not be 56½ but 52½ in money, and 8½ ⅙ in wheat, for it is the sum of ll. 6, 10, and 13. Further on the figures are lost.

(g)

υ' 2 (the upper lines lost.)
 γραφωισα[
 εις [] γ̂ γε ε γ
 εαν τινες των
 τοιουντων πυρον
 μετρητον παραλαμβα- 5
 νοντας και ανθυπο-
 λογισαμενους
 το γινομενον φορετρον
 εως του μεγαλου
 ποταμου το λοιπον 10
 παραμετρησαι υμιν
 επι του ορμου
 αλλη οιμαι σε παρακολουθειν
 διοτι υπαρχει εν τη δωρειαι
 χορτος ικανος αφ ου εαν 15
 εν δυνατωι ηι ληφθηναι
 εις τας εν τωι νομωι αβχ̂
 εις * Σ η πλειον και εισ
 μετρηθηναι τον καθη-
 κοντα πυρον ουδ εαν ανειη? 20
 αλλη εμου γραψαντος φιλιππωι
 οτι σιτ[ον . . .]εμετρησαμεν ενυ
 π[
 κ το κατα[

I cannot explain the first two lines. The letters in l. 2 may be either λ or γ. Does δωρειαι mean some sort of granary? The end of l. 17 contains contractions new to me. The first (partly lost) is probably for δεσμας. Line 20 ends very illegibly, and the last word is quite uncertain. The better part of the text tells us that carriage to the *great river* (a most unusual phrase) was to be subtracted from taxes in kind. In the second case there appears to be some exchange of green fodder for an equivalent in wheat intended. There is a very broad margin on either side of the column. The *verso* is blank.

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XXXIX.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

(h)

R'

	υ]πηρξεν	δια ωρον εριεως
]λος εως των	αξονες ρν
]νεις την	τοξα οβ
	τ]ης αλεξαν	αγκωνες μεγαλοι ρξ
	]ντων	και μικροι . .
		εις κοφινους [
<i>Vestiges</i>		υνεις κε
<i>of a</i>		ξυλα υπ
<i>similar</i>		δια . μαιμαχου
<i>account</i>		αξονες χξ
<i>to the</i>		αγκωνες μικροι ψμ
<i>right</i>		και μεγαλοι πλ .
<i>column.</i>		τοξα πσ
		εις κοφινους [
		υνεις κ
		ξυλα βυξγ
		δια φιλιππου
		αγκωνες μικροι Σ
		και μεγαλοι ρν
		ξυλα τν
		? . αυτοξυλα δω .

Three accompanying, but more effaced, fragments have the same words, and also ρυμων and μυρυκινων ξυλων. υνεις are ploughshares. The other items appear to be the various parts of a cart with its yoke. What great and small αγκωνες can mean, except clamps to hold together timber, I do not know. κοφινος is probably the box or basket set on the wheels; τοξα probably pieces of wood bent to form sections of the wheels. The suitability of all these terms to the same purpose makes this conjectural interpretation not improbable. The writing is very beautiful, and the papyrus as thin as silver paper; blank on the *verso*. This delicacy of the papyrus has caused it to be much tattered. The pieces I found pasted one over the other, and at first took them for a single leaf. Though they evidently belong to the same sheet, none of them fit together.

XXXIX.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

(i)

T 2

φιλιππος π . . ταρχου Π̄ρ πατ[] ωκου . β
 διοσκουριδης ηλιοδωρ[ου] κβ
 οννωφρις φαυητ[ος] . . . μαους ? ιβ
 . . . δις σοχωτου Μ̄ αλεξα]νδρου ν̄ πδ]-
 s σεμθewς Μ̄ του προπιολητων ? 5
 Χ̄ . . εξοδιου του διονυσωδωρου θεαδελ
 φειας ρνε
 αγη[νωρ?] πανσανιου παρα
 δεξιδιας ιε
 βερενικη ευδικου παραδεισου 10
 ιππαρχος ιππαρχου ρΧ̄
 π[αιω]ν ρΧ̄ Μ̄ θεαδελφειας . . .
 σαιχιδιμος ? αργ . . ου Μ̄ θεαδελφειας ξ
 ενηπο . φοινικωνος πηλουσιου α
 αλεξανδρος φοινικωνος πηλουσιου α 15
 θοτορταης ? φοινικωνος πηλουσιου β
 . . . φοινικωνος πηλουσιου ι
 . . φοινικωνος πηλουσιου ι
 σε]σοστρις σκυτευσ φοινικωνος πηλουσιου α
 ατρευσ φοινικωνος πηλουσιου α 20
 φοινικ[ων]ος πηλουσιου
 (lines lost.)

We learn, at all events, from this list that, at the village called Pelusium, there was a palm-grove of sufficient size to be the joint property of various taxable people, with both Greek and Egyptian names. Another fragment mentions one at "Alexander's Island."

What the sigles Π̄ρ (the ρ is inside the Π) and Μ̄ mean I cannot tell. The latter cannot mean Μακεδων, for it is appended to Egyptian names. Are they πρακτωρ and μαστηρ ?

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XI.

VARIOUS BUSINESS LETTERS.

(a)

ατιβει

μανρης νεκτενιβι πετο[σιριος
αμακ . . ει α . . . ινει τεωτ[ος
εριεντι . σον . εωτυι πετ[
πασιτι ? πετεχωντι αων ?
ωρωι ζακε[. .]οτι βερενι[κηι ?
]ωι τοις [. .]ς πολιταις
πασι χαιρειν ει ερρωσθε
παντες καλως αν εχοι υγιαينو-
μεν δε και αυτοι παραγενομε[νος

(fracture)

ημ[ιν ?]σιν
οιλ[.]σαικατ[
μη ουν ολιγοψυχησητε
αλλ ανδριζεσθε ολιγος
γαρ χρονος υμιν εστιν ετοιμα-
ζεται γαρ η διαδοχη
και [οι]ονηγοι επιλελεγμενοι
ει[σι ου] μελ[λο]ντες παραγενεσ-
θ[αι με]τα του στρατηγου
παρεσται δ[.] και εξαι
ρετου πολε[.]εια
συντομως αγ . . . μηασων
και η ελεφαντ[ων θηρα] η εν βερε-
νικηι τελος εχει και αυτη

(fracture)

γραψατε μοι τι[. . . . υ]μιν
τιμη εγενετο του σιτου
αφ ου η ελεφαντηγος κατε-
ποντισθη και περι υμω[ν
εντεινεσθε εως αν υγλαι
νοντας υμας ιδωμεν

ερρ Lκδ

φω]φ[ι] ιδ

5

10

15

20

25

30

[135]

XI.

VARIOUS BUSINESS LETTERS.

This very interesting letter was found in three pieces laid across each other and with demotic texts. The hand is difficult, and there are losses at the fractures of at least a line. The occurrence of Berenike (not Berenikis of the Fayyûm), in connexion with elephants, points to the fact recorded by historians that the 2nd Ptolemy had a settlement of that name far down the Red Sea (Adule) for the purpose of catching elephants. It seems that the people here addressed were soldiers at some intermediate port on the Red Sea, if not at Berenike itself, who were in great difficulties, and were about to be relieved by land-transport (asses). The writer encourages them to hold out. It seems that an elephant-transport had gone down—I suppose on one of the many shoals of the Red Sea—and this ship was probably laden with corn on its outward journey for the distant military post. Hence the writer evidently apprehends that the loss of the ship had caused scarcity, and asks what the price of corn had been since this disaster. The names of people addressed at the opening seem all Egyptian, and are therefore not easy to fill up. They are presumably all in the dative case. The single word over the first line is apparently a name omitted and supplied, viz. “Manres son of Nect. to Atibis, son of Petosiris.” The name Atibis occurs below in p. 140, v’ 1, l. 35. Line 21 contains sufficient vestiges to be read completely, but I have failed to do so.

(b)

[Autotyped.]

K’

δωροθεος θεοδωρωι
 χαιρειν γινωσκε με
 τρυγησοντα τηι θ
 του παννι καλως ουν
 ποιησεις αποστειλας
 τηι η
 τινα ος επακολουθη
 τηι εγχυσει
 σει του γινομενου σοι
 γλευκους η γραψας μοι
 πως συντασσεις

ερρωσο Λζ παννι δ

On the back, ΘΕΟΔΩΡΩΙ

This little letter is complete, and may be compared with No. XXX. in Part I. Both names are already familiar to us, but so common that we can hardly identify the men. “Dorotheos to Theodoros greeting. Take notice that I shall have my vintage on the 9th of Payni. It were well for you, then, to send some one on the 8th who will see to the pouring out of the must which comes to you, or else write to me how you wish it managed.

Good-bye, year 7, Payni 4.”

XII.

DESCRIPTION OF TOWN PROPERTY.

. (illegible)
 αυλη προς βορραν μηκος
 πηχων ιθ πλατος
 πηχων ιη εισοδος
^{δια}κοινη οικημα προς νο-
 τον κ ταμισιον κ 5
 εισοδος κοινη
 αυλη προς νοτον
 πλατος πηχεις ζ
 μηκος πηχεις ιε
 και πετοσιριος του ταριχευ- 10
 του της ουσης προς απη-
 λιωτην αυλη
 πλατος πηχεις ια
 μηκος δε κε
 (The end of the document.)

Documents of this kind are not uncommon in later papyri. The usual description of town property consists in stating the contiguous holdings towards each point of the compass. The upper part of the document is almost wholly effaced. ταμισιον ought to mean a place for making rennet, but this seems a very odd description of a house. It is also to be noted that we have here the house of a ταριχευτης, or embalmer of the dead, in the midst of other dwellings. The evidence of the Turin Papyri seemed to imply that these people formed a sort of guild, and occupied either a separate abode on some temple property, or some place apart from ordinary dwellings. There are only court-yards described, and these have both length and breadth given—the measurements being in various relative proportions. In the Turin Papyrus No. 1, as is well known, only one dimension is given, which led A. Peyron (I., p. 135), to infer that only frontage was specified, because the depth of the sites was fixed at 100 cubits. Such was not the case here.

XIII

APPOINTMENT OF KLEON'S SUCCESSOR, AND KLEON'S DEPARTURE.

(a)

Ξ' 3.

κλε]ανδρος οικο[νο]μοις νομαρχ[αις
 βασιλικους γραμματευσιν φυλα
 κι[ται]ς μυριαδουροις κωμαρχ[οις
 κωμογραμματευσιν χαιρειν
 απολελοιπαμεν θεοδωρον τον δ
 υπαρχιτεκτονα προς την φυλακην
 των χωματων και ταις αφεσεσιν
 εντειλαμενοι αυτω και την ανα
 ν ων

(The rest is lost.)

This is the appointment of the Theodoros mentioned as working under Kleon, and if Kleon himself was not permitted to appoint his own deputy, then the fragment may apply to the very case on which Philonides writes to his father (XIII., 19, p. [45]). I suppose the novel word *μυριαδουροις* must qualify the foregoing *φυλακταις*—policemen, whose duties extended over 10,000 *arouræ*, and may be a mere variation for the frequent *αρχιφυλακται*. I am tempted to append a note from Kleon, and to judge from the very bad or age-stricken hand, in his own writing: for he would certainly not have appointed such a writer as his amanuensis. In this he mentions that he is on the point of departure. Unfortunately we have no clue to Kleandros in the former, or Paion in the latter document, and therefore can only guess that this departure was final.

(b)

A 6

κλεων παιονι χαιρειν [αποστει
 λον μοι την ονον χρεαν γαρ[
 τον χορτον[
 κομισται
 ταχιστα σα κομισασθαι? [
 ειμι γαρ προς τωι αποδημειν[δ
 δω ερωσω

[138]

XIII.

APPOINTMENT OF KLEON'S SUCCESSOR, AND KLEON'S DEPARTURE.

(c)

FROM PHILONIDES TO KLEON.

J 136

φιλωνιδης τω]ι πατρι χ[αιρειν
 υγι]αινω δε [και αυτος
]τοις θεσμοφ[οροις
] . μεθα παρα [
] βεβηκοτι τακ[5
]υμων ? ουκη[σν
]ε αυτου του ανηλωματ[ος
]ωι και συνεταξεν ανδρονικωι
] προς ξανθιππον[. .]αγειν με
]ι μου ο θελω εποησεν ουν και 10
 α]νδρονικος τληπολεμου αυτωι
]ετυχεν δε και ποσειδωνι[ωι
 φιλ]οτιμοτατα τωι ξανθιππωι
]τῶιδε ην δε και τληπολεμος
 ξανθ]ιππον ην δε και [θεμ]ιστοκλης 15
 αρ]γυριον παραλαμψεσθαι τον
]ωνα ην δε και αυτος ο ξανθ
]αλλοτριος αλλα
]μον με λεγειν
 εκελ]ευσεν αυτωι [20
 τω]ι βασιλει νυν δ εμου αξιουντος
]εγω δεηλκιωσα ? εως ανου[βιαδος
] φιλοτιμοτερος επεποηκ[ει
]ην τληπολεμον αρξ[

This letter, unmistakeably in the hand of Philonides (cf. XIII., 19, p. [45]), is here given in the hope that some of the remainder may yet be found. Possibly the Xanthippos, who occurs in III., may be the same person as is mentioned here. If so, that document should be classed among the Kleon papers, and not among those of Diophanes. It is impossible to guess the subject of this letter without more data.

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XLIII.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

(a)

TAXING OF VINEYARDS.

v' i a

ΦΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΠΕΛΩΝΩΝ

Γ	αντιπατρος δημητριου βερενικιδος αιγιαλου τεχωσις ωρου πηλουσιου π . . [] ψεναμουνιος και μανρης τεωτου ? αλεξανδρου νησου	κ qη]=c κη/ρμc]=c	5
Δ	μαιμαχος το παρα απολλωνιου απολλωνιου ρϞ πτολεμαιδος δρυμου	ςcι βς]	
Ε	φιλων τεωτος πτολεμαιδος δρυμου πετεαρψენησις σοκωνωπιος το παρα θενωτος πτολεμαιδος δρυμου ερπαησις τεωτος και πετεαρψενησις σοκωνωπιος πτολεμαιδος δρυμου εραθρης σοκληνιος πτολεμαιδος δρυμ κ[. .] νικη διονυσιου του περι το δημητριον ? αλεξανδρου νησου μανρης τεσενουφιος πτολεμαιδος δρυμου αντιδωρος και ηγημ[. .] το παρα πασιτος [του] πασιτος βερεν[ικιδ]ος αιγιαλου	δ-c βς] δς/ιec q γλ λε-c/λη]-c κ δ=c []ςc	10 15 20
ΙΒ	ορσεν[ουφιος] παγρυ?φρο[. βε]ρεν[ικιδ]ος αιγιαλου σπο[] κοσσιτ[] οσαιγ[] σιμιας νικολαου βερενικιδος αιγι]αλου θεοφιλα σιμ?ιου βερενικιδος αιγιαλ]ου		
Κ	καλλ?[ιας] πολυαρατου α . σ[]		
ΚΑ	ηρωιδης θεοδωρο[υ] του[] τοδιο σκουριον Μ αλεξανδρου νησου θασυς φαμοννιος του[] ν αλεξανδρου νησου[] ο αυτος ακοδρυων (sic) των[] πετεσουχος ψεναμουν[] οινου του αυτου Μ[] φανησις πασιτος ω[] του αυτου Μ αλεξ[ανδρου] ν δωσιθεος αμαδοκ[] πτολεμαιδος δρυμ[]	κc-c νθc	25
ΚΓ	αμ?υνχis ατιβιος και[] σεμθεως και παωπι[] του αυτου Μ πτολε δ[ρυμ] διονυσιος πολεμωνος[] οινου? του αυτου Μ[] δρυμου διονυσιος πολεμωνος ω[] του αυτου Μ αλεξα ν[ησ] αντιδωρος κομ?ωνος ωσαντως[] του αυτου Μ[]		30 35 40

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XLIII.

TAKING ACCOUNTS.

(b)

TAKING OF PALMS.

ν' ι b	Ε]ΚΤΗC ΚΑΙ ΔΕΚΑΤΗC	45	
	αρ]μαις πετησιος φοινικ̃ αλεξαν νησ	ε	
	σ]οκονωπις τρωτος Μ̃ πτολε δρυμ	λ	
	α]μασις ιμουθου Μ̃ ωσαντως	ισ/να	
	]ιδαιος γλαυκου[. . .]Μ̃[
	]αμου βασιλεως ανδ[	] ιδ	50
	α]ντιπατρος δημητριου[	]ιζ]-λ	
	]βερενικιδος αιγιαλου		
	σ]αραπιων νικιου του αμρριδου?		
	]υζενου Μ̃ βερενικιδος		
	]αιγιαλου	μθ]	55
	]πετεσουχος ψεναμουνιος και		
	]μανρης ιμουθου Μ̃ αλεξαν ν̃ .		<i>The</i>
	]αυ . . ος φοινικ̃[	]β	<i>beginning</i>
	]μεννευς σεμβεως φοινικ̃[
	απολλ]ωνιδος	η	60 <i>of a column</i>
	. . . . .		<i>here, but</i>
	ονν]ωφρις ωρου και οι μετοχοι		
	. . . . .	η	<i>with no new</i>
	. . . . .	η—	<i>features.</i>
	μανρης παωτος φοινικ̃ βωμου?		65
	πρεμανρεους απολλωνιαδος	σ	
	ορθενις? ανατοπεως φοινικ̃		
	]εν . . . ετου απολλωνιαδος	η	
	. . . . . νιος αριστονικου		
	φοινικωνων εχει . περιος του γν		70
	(lines lost)		

On Z, 5, 153 we have the heading of an account—

ΧΡΥCΟΧΟΙΚΗC

πηλουσιου μανρης χεναρεως

αλεξανδρου ν̃ θεων ηφαιστ[ιωνος

thus showing both an Egyptian and a Greek name.

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XLIII.

TAXING ACCOUNTS.

These lists—very like XXXIX. (i), p. [134]—incomplete, and with sums of money attached to the names, which vary most extraordinarily (and in this they differ from the similar lists given above, XXVII., p. [83], XXVIII., p. [87], and XXIX. (a), p. [99])—are at least interesting in giving us many curious names of men and places. *πολεμαιοδρος δρυμος* is intelligible, though a brake or thicket is not what we expect in Egypt. Perhaps it was kept for the purpose of supplying the *παραφυγανισμος* above mentioned—the screen of brushwood to protect the mud-brick dykes. A curious phrase is *βερενικιδος αιγιαλον*, the strand of Berenikis, and yet it occurs so repeatedly, that the reading can hardly be doubtful. *φοινικων*, a palm-grove, also occurs in one of the B. M. Papyri. Vines were widely cultivated in the Fayyûm, but exceptionally in the rest of Egypt. Of the curious personal names I note *αριβις* (l. 35) as having occurred at the head of a previous fragment. Of the tots the first (l. 5) is correct, viz. 20 dr. + 98 dr. $5\frac{1}{2}$ obols + 28 dr. = 146 dr. $5\frac{1}{2}$ obols. The second (l. 13) ought to be 14 dr. + $2\frac{1}{4}$ obols. But the figures at the close of l. 18 are to me unintelligible, unless the tot be merely the sum of ll. 17, 18, viz. 3 dr. 3 obols + 35 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ obols = 38 dr. $4\frac{1}{2}$ obols. The previous 90 (l. 15) therefore stands by itself. The remaining figures are too mutilated for any computation. The unexplained abbreviation *Μ* occurs here frequently, as on p. 134 above. There are, at least, seven considerable fragments of the same account on the same papyrus and in the same hand, but I cannot fit any of them together. There may be marginal dates lost between the $\bar{\epsilon}$ and $\bar{\beta}$ of the upper document.

We cannot tell whether the heading of the second column— $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.—applies to the other column, which states itself to be a tax on vineyards only, whereas here we have chiefly palms. The other fragments, which are much smaller than these, throw no light upon the question. It is to be noticed that Greek and native names are so thoroughly mixed that both races seem to have combined in the cultivation of the newly imported vines, for, I take it, the recently uncovered sloping shores of the old lake were the favourable ground for this crop. The allusions in these papyri to vines, vintage, and wines are quite frequent.

XLIV.

LEASE OF A FARM AND PUMPKIN GROUND.

§ 3, 4

β]ασιλευντ[ος πτολεμαιου του πτολεμαιου και αρσινους θεων αδελφων &c.
νικου αλεξανδ[ρου και θεων αδελφων και &c. κατηφορου &c. μη
νος αυδναιου[

και διονυσιος κ[

μητροδωρι α[τ]υρρηγνι[5

]αρκ[]ν και διονυσιος και δη[μητριος ?

] . ωρος ξ[]ωσαυτως δε κ . τ[
εγ δραχμων εξ[ηκο]ντα ^{πεντε} χαλκου το δε σικ[υηρατον ?

αρουραν εκαστ[ην] δραχμων τεσσαρακο[ντα

ξουσι και αυτο[ν μη]τροδωρι και επικουρι[10

και ^{περι αυτων μη}βαι ? μηδε εγβα[λει]ν μητροδωρον μηδε ε[πικουρον

το εβδομον ετο[ς αλ]λα βεβαιουντωσαν αυτοις[

του σικυηρατο[ν ε]ως αν εκκαρπυσωνται εα[ν δε μη

αποτεισατωσα[ν μη]τροδωρι και επικουρι[με

τοχη μητροδω[ρι και] επικουρι των ^{εαμ μη [η] βασιλ[ικον]}δε αρπ[? 15

εως αν κομισων[ται τ]ας εξηκοντα ^{πεντε}δραχμας τους τ[ε

τωσαν δε τον[]ινθον και το σικυηρατον τ[

και μητροδω[ρος και] επικουρος εως αν εκκαρπυσωνται

αποκοιτος μη[δε α]φημερος γινεσθω μηδεις αυ[των

εαν δε αποκ[οιτ]η η αφημερευση οποτερος ου[τος αποτεισα 20

τω εις το κοιν[ον εκα]στης ημερας οβολους δυο τ[

και διονυσ[ιου και] δ[ημη]τριου εις ον αν αυτοι αφω[

σιτον τον ε[] . . . εαν δε . δη εργαζεσθα[ι

ρες εαν δ[ε μη σ]υνεργαζητα[ι] η μη παρεχη[αποτεισατω ημε

ρας εκαστ[ης τωι κ]οινωι δυοβολους οταν δε ε[25

εικοσι δραχ[μας του] σικυηρατου το λοιπον διελ[

αλισκηται [] . . [] ιζομενος τι του[

απ]οτεισα[τω]νκλεμ μ νων δε[

η του σικυ[ηρατου]ων εισφερετω[σαν] εκα[στος

μοντες[]τομμαι . . [30

...

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XLIV.

LEASE OF A FARM AND PUMPKIN GROUND.

These two fragments are cut from a wide sheet to make the soles of a mummy case. The left piece has the toes upward, the right downward, and the heel at the top is lost. But the curves correspond fairly enough, so that the interval between the pieces is but small. To the right of both a large piece is lost, probably enough to cut into another pair of soles. This we can tell from filling up the formulæ at the opening. There seem to have been fourteen and a-half words in the first line, for the opening of the second has the end of the name of the father of the priest of Alexander. The second line must also have had fourteen words (strictly $\frac{1}{2} + 13 + \frac{1}{2}$). As the remainders average six and a-half words, we can estimate the amount lost. Nevertheless we can tell most of the general drift. Three men (at least), Dionysius, Demetrius and another, lease a field and pumpkin garden (*σικυνηπαρον* is only found in the LXX) to Metrodorus and Epicurus (two suggestive names), one of whom (at least) seems to be a Tyrrhenian by birth.

The lease was for seven years, and the rent of each aroura (of the pumpkin garden?) 40 drachmæ. There are numerous conditions binding both lessors and lessees, with penalties attached, especially for disturbance of the lessees, and for absenteeism on their part. If either of them is away a day or a night (the adjectives *αποκοιτης* and *αφημερος* are new; the verbs occur in a document quoted in *Demosthenes*, p. 238, 10) he is to pay 2 obols *per diem* into the *κοινον*, whatever that means. Is it the public chest of the nome? or is it a common fund of the profits divided on some metayer system? Pumpkins are sown in Egypt now on the tongues of land just uncovered by the falling Nile; hence absence even for a day or night might spoil the produce for the year. But there may have been other reasons. The *o* is written as a mere black dot in this hand.

XIV.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF A SOLDIER ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN KILIKIA AND SYRIA.

N° 2, 3, &c.

COLUMN I.

Head of column.

ἐ]πι τα τειχη[.]νεσθαι
] . ετερουσ καταβιασας παρε
]αι κατεστ[η]σεν επι των
 αποσ]τειλας τινας προς τον
 περι των γεγε]νημεν[ων] εμφανισας 5
 του]ς στρατιωτας προσαγοντων
]α?κης εις ον συνεθεντο καιρον
 τ]ους επι της ακρας και περι των
] . Ευμαχον και Αριστεαν επι
]ο[.]λαι προνπαρχον[10
 επα]ρθεμενους επει καιρον
]ον τονδε συνελαβον
] παρα του Ανδρισκου πεμ
]εναι . [π]αντας εν τοις επι τη
]ων δει τῆς ακρας υποτιθε 15
 κ]αι δεη[θ]εντων μηθεν παρα
 νομον πεισεσθαι α]ντιον εφη μεν εσεθαι φανεραν
 την φιλανθρωπιαν] . . τε παρ ημων και την παρα
] εν μετα δε ταυτα δεξιαν
 καταστ]ησας Επιγενην επι της 20
 ακρας] την πολιν αμα τη ημεραι
 στρατι.?]ωτων επιστελας ηπηγεν
 κα]τα δε τους αυτους καιρους και παρα
]ε σκαφη της αδελφης προς αυτους

So much of this broad column is lost that any attempt at restoration is mere guesswork. Lines 15 *sq.* apparently refer to the surrender of a fortress, and the terms given to the garrison. But Epigenes, if he be the officer afterwards known as the servant of the Syrian king, should have been opposed to the Egyptians, which does not seem to be the case here. A new paragraph certainly begins in l. 19, and again in l. 23. The writer corrects several slips by writing letters over the line. The historical import of all the fragments is discussed on pp. [148]-[149].

XLV.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF A SOLDIER ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN KILIKIA AND SYRIA.

COLUMN II.

διαπεμψαμένης εἰς]ν προθυμῶς
 καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν χρεια[ν] καὶ παραπλευ
 σάντες εἰς ὁλοὺς τοὺς [. . . .]υς ἀ[νέ]λαβον τὰ
 ἐ[κείν]σε κατασκέθεντ[α χρη]μάτα καὶ παρεκομίσαν
 εἰς Σέλευκειαν ὄντα Ἀφ [αργ]Π[διέ]νοεῖτο μὲν 6
 Ἀριβαζὸς ὁ ἐν Κιλίαι σατραπ[ῆς ταῦτα] ἀποστελλεῖν
 εἰς Ἐφέσον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λαοδικὴν [συ?]νφώνησαντων δὲ
 πρὸς ἀστούς τῶν τε Σ[ο]λίων καὶ σατραπ[ῶν]
 αὐτοῦ καὶ μετ[ὰ βίας] ἐπιβοήθησαντ[ῶν τ]ῶν 10
 περὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν καὶ Ἀριστοκλ[έα] συγγ. λ. ? ὁθρῶν
 καὶ γενομένων ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων συνέβη
 ταῦτα τε κατασκέθηναι καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν
 ἀκρὰν καθ' ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι . ? τοῦ Ἀριβαζοῦ δὲ ἐκπε
 πεδηκότος καὶ πρὸς τὴν υπερβολὴν τοῦ Ταυροῦ
 συναπτόντος τῶν ἐγχωρίων τινες τὴν [15
 ἀπο?τεμοντες ἀν[ηνέ?]γκεν εἰς Ἀντιοχείαν
 ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὰς γ[] ἀσ?ομεθα πρώτης
 φυλακῆς ἀρχομένης [εἰς]βάντες εἰς τοσαύτας ὁσας
 ἡμελλον ὁ ἐν Σέλευκει[αι λ]ίμην δεξασθαι παρεπλευσαμεν
 εἰς φρουρίον τὸ καλουμένον [Π]οσιδεὸν καὶ καθ' ὁρμισθήμεν τῆς 20
 ἡμέ(τε)ρας περὶ οὐδ[ὸν] ὦραν ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐωθίῃς
 ἀναχθέντες παραγίνομεθα εἰς τὴν Σέλευκειαν
 τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν καὶ τ[ῶν τελ]ῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν
 καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν στεφάνῃ
 φορήσαντων καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα συναντήσαν 25

In the first two lines the letters lost are twelve to fourteen. There is a correction like a *υ* over the *σ* in *κατασκ.* (l. 4), but I cannot understand it. *κίλιαι* (l. 6) is surely a mistake for *κίλικιαι*. So in l. 7, *τον* for *την*. The second word in l. 8 *may* be *αυτους*. *Σολεις*, a man of Soli, occurs in inscriptions. In l. 9 there is no room for a word longer than *βίας*. The last word in l. 10 ought to be read. In l. 13 there is a gap, and apparently a faint *μ* after *γενεσθαι*, which I cannot explain. It may be merely a false beginning of the ensuing sentence, and abandoned without correction. In l. 16 there is room for at least four letters in the gap. The fort *ποσειδεον* is mentioned by Strabo as lying south of the mouth of the Orontes. In l. 20 the writer corrects by writing the correct letter above; in 21 by deletion. He seems much confused by the likeness of *ἡμερα* and *ἡμετερα*.

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XLV.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF A SOLDIER ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN KILIKIA AND SYRIA.

COLUMN III.

[των	]ας ευνοιας και	
	]ς εις την πολιν	
	]θεντα θυματα	
	]οις τοις υπ α[υ]τοις ^{ων}	
κατασ[	]ς και τιμας εν ποριωι	5
ηνηγ[	τα]υτην μεν ημε-	
(τε)ραν[	]ν τη δε ητεραι	
[. .]ρ?η[	]ως ενδεχεται	
μαλισ[τα	]εσεν?αις υπεδε-	
ξαμε[θα	]οσι τους με	10
θ ημ[ων	παντ]οθεν (στρατιωτας)	
και στ[ρατιωτας και	]ηγεμονας οσοι ουκ . . ν	
. τι[	]α την πολιν και την	
	ε]ρας εασαντες [<i>may be nothing lost here.</i>	
	η]σαν γαρ θαυμαστοι	15
	]ωνται με[τα τα]υτα εις Αντιοχειαν	
	]τοιαυτην παρασκευην και των	
	]ε?μεν ωστε καταπλητεσθαι	
	]γαρ ημιν εκτος της πυλης	
β	]σατραπαι και οι ολλοι ηγε	20
μον[ες	]iai και οι ιερεις και αι συναρχiai	
και [παντες οι απ]ο του γυμνασιου νεανισκοι και αλλος		
οχ[λος εστεφ]ανωμενος και τα ιερα παντα εις το[ν ?		
προ [της πυλης] οδον εξηνεγκον και οι μεν εδεξιου[ν η		
μας?[οι δε	] μετα κροτου και κραυγης	25

Foot of Column.

Over ll. 4, 5 are corrections or supplements, viz. τας τιμας εν τωι εμποριωι; so at the opening of ll. 6 and 7. In l. 9 εσεναις seems certain. The ν might possibly be ρι. In l. 11 the writer brackets out a wrong word.

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XIV.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF A SOLDIER ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN KILIKIA AND SYRIA

This document, unique among these papyri, is the only piece of contemporary public history I have found. The various pieces, seven in number, were scattered about among the last consignment sent to me by Mr. Newberry, and it was not without much searching and experimenting that the remains, now printed, were brought into order. I was aided in identifying them by the fact that the *verso* is covered with a quantity of accounts in a very minute and blurred hand, not indeed legible, but easily distinguishable from other writing. It might be thought at first sight that we have before us the work of some historian contemporary with the events he describes; but the form of the document weighs with me strongly against such a hypothesis. The writing is so large, and the margin so broad, that the three columns here printed, with their margins, occupy a space of about twenty-four inches long by fourteen high. All the fragments of literary work meant for sale and permanent use, which we have recovered in this collection, are in small, neat capitals, so that this amount of papyrus if used for such a purpose would contain a very long text. We have, therefore, before us either the letter of some soldier in the campaign to his friends in the Fayyûm, or an official report sent there for the information of the families of the soldiers who were on active service. As regards the date, there is no evidence beyond the company in which the text was found—all of them papers from the early years of the 3rd Ptolemy's reign—and the only moment in history into which the facts fit easily is this very period. The reader will remember the significant phrase *των απο της Ασιας αιχμαλωτων* in XXIX. (b), p. [99]. It is known that in the very first year of his reign (247-246 B.C.), Ptolemy III. left his bride and his just-acquired kingdom to avenge the murder of his sister, Cleopatra, the second wife of Antiochus Theos of Syria. Laodike, sister of Achæos, and a princess of great importance in Asia Minor, the former and now discarded wife, had retired to Ephesus or Sardis, and upon the king visiting her there, he had been poisoned, whereupon her party at Antioch forthwith murdered the new queen Cleopatra and her infant son. Thus the throne of Antioch was for the moment left derelict, for Laodike was at Ephesus, and her sons, two growing boys, were with her, as they doubtless had been in danger from the new Egyptian party, headed by the young queen, with her infant, an heir presumptive, at Antioch. Ptolemy had started upon his expedition probably upon receiving the news of Antiochus' death, but was too late to save his sister. He nevertheless occupied Antioch, punished, of course, the murderers of the young queen with great severity, and then made his famous expedition into the East, conquering all the Seleukid dominions, except Asia Minor, which was held by the party of Laodike and her sons.

Our information on this great campaign extends, however, only to its broad outlines, as summarized by Justin (lib. xxvii.) and in the inscription of Adule. The historians who may have described it are all lost. Hence the information to be obtained from the present text, if it has been indeed correctly interpreted, is both novel and important. Let us now proceed to details.

Column I. is unfortunately docked of its left half, so that there only remains enough to assure us that it described a campaign, probably the operations of the Egyptian admiral upon the south coast of Asia Minor. Not a single place-name is preserved, but among the persons there is one—Epigenes—who appears as the trusty servant, in after days, of Seleukos Kallinikos. The Egyptians, denoted throughout by the writer as *we*, were evidently so successful as to compel the surrender of some garrison (ll. 16-17). But then this Epigenes was on the Egyptian side (?).

Column II.—A new paragraph evidently commences at I., l. 23: "About the same moment, . . . his sister having sent round boats actively [to all her adherents?], and having explained the urgency of the case, [the leaders in her interest] sailing round to all the forts took up all the

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PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF A SOLDIER ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN KILIKIA AND SYRIA.

[treasures?] there kept in ward, and conveyed them to Seleukia (in Kilikia?), being over 1500 [talents of silver?] These Aribazos, the satrap in Kil[ik]ia intended to dispatch to Ephesos and hand over to the party of Laodike." This ex-queen is therefore probably the *sister* above mentioned, and her brother Achæos was the general acting in her interests against the Egyptians. The narrative proceeds: "But when the people of Soli and the satraps . . . on the spot agreed together, and the followers of Pythagoras and Aristokles gave active help, and all behaved with great bravery, it resulted that the money was retained and both city and citadel fell into our hands. But Aribazos having escaped, and reached the passes of the Tauros, some of the natives [closed the pass] so that he was obliged to turn and go back to Antioch. Then we (l. 17), at the first watch, embarking in as many vessels as the harbour of Seleukia (ad Orontem) was likely to hold, sailed as far as the fort called Poseidion, and anchored at the eighth hour of the day. But the following day, early, we weighed anchor, and arrived at Seleukia. Here the priests and magistrates, and the citizens and soldiers, all crowned with garlands, met us on the road leading to the harbour."

"With every expression of good-will"—this is the undoubted sense of the early lines of column III., which, though as mutilated as column I., is in sequence to column II., and so we obtain a clue to the sense. It further appears (ll. 6, 7) that, having spent one day at Seleukia, and secured that fortress, they proceeded to march in state to Antioch. Here again, outside the gates of that city, they met with such a reception as to strike them with awe, of which the last four lines of the column give us distinct details. And here the fragment ends. The latter part of column II. and column III. are not to be mistaken; but what was the proceeding described at the top of the former column? I conjecture the following solution: Laodike and her party at Ephesus wanted funds. She sends, therefore, to her brother, directing him to gather all the treasures usually kept in the strong hill-forts of the Taurus, and these, amounting to 1500 talents, are brought down to the Kilikian Seleukia—not I think to Seleukia on the Orontes, for Aribazos, satrap of Kilikia, has control of them, and desires to send them to Ephesus. At Seleukia it was that the Egyptian, or national, party prevailed. The people of Soli, and the other satraps, joined with the people of Kilikian Seleukia in a revolution which saved the money, and caused Aribazos to fly, first to the passes across the Taurus, but when these were occupied by the natives, eastwards to Antioch. Thus, then, the text is consistent. The importance of the easy capture of Seleukia on the Orontes will appear from a perusal of Polybius' description (lib. v.) of its fortifications; and this opening success helps us greatly to understand how the Egyptian king should have overrun the Syrian kingdom so easily. He threw his forces between the forces of the queen Laodike and her capital. Thus her adherents were unable to maintain themselves at the capital, and it fell into his hands with hardly a struggle. The great fort of Seleukia, the port of Antioch, and about twelve miles from that city, at the mouth of the Orontes, was retained by the Egyptians for many years.

If the Kilikian Seleukia is indeed intended on the first mention of the name, then the absence of closer specification is very curious; and yet it seems impossible to understand this passage of the Syrian Seleukia. This was the greatest difficulty I found in making sense of the fragments. But I only put forth my theory of the sense tentatively, feeling assured that the fragment will receive ample attention from the learned world.

XLVI.

MORTGAGE OF AN ESTATE AS SECURITY BY A TAX FARMER, 200 B.C.

(a)

[Autotyped.]

D 62

θεοτιμος ευφρονος [θραιξ των ουπω υπο ιπ . &c. μαρτυρομαι βασιλεα πτολεμαιον τον εγ πτολεμαιον και
αρσινους θεων φιλοπατορων [κ]α[ι] θεους φ[ιλοπατο]ρας κ[αι θεους φιλ]αδελφο[υς]
και θεους σωτηρας και τον σαραπιν και την [ισιδα και] τους αλλους θεους παντας και πασας [τα]υτην
την υποθηκην ην υποθεθεικα προ[14 letters]εμην καθαραν και μη υποκεισθαι
προς αλλο μηθεν αλλ η την προγεγραμ[μενη]ν εγγυην ευορκουντι μεν μοι ευ ειη εφιορκουντι δε
ταναντια

5

(b)

θεοτιμος ευφρονος θραιξ των ουπω υπο ιππαρχην ητ * ομολογω εγγνασθαι εις εκτισιν
φιλιππον τον εξεληφοτα την απομοιραν εις το δευτερον ετος των περι φιλαδελφεαν
τοπων αμπελωνων και παραδεισων ταλαντου ενος και δραχμων τρισχιλιων
και τον αυτον εις την εγληψιν των περι βουβαστον αμπελωνων και παραδεισων
δραχμων τρισχιλιων ωστε ειναι το π[αν] ταλαντα [δυο] προς α υποτιθημι την υπαρχουσαν
μοι οικιαν και τα ^{και αυλην} συνκυροντα εν ενεργετιδι κ[αι] ομωμοκα [τον υπερ]γεγραμμενον ορκον βασιλικον
κατα το συμβολον τουτο

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XLVI.

MORTGAGE OF AN ESTATE AS SECURITY BY A TAX FARMER, 200 B.C.

(c)

[Autotyped.]

E 62 *From a separate coffin, but concerning the same persons and the same transaction.*

χοιαχ κδ
 /πυθωνι του δοθεντος ημιν ᾗ παρ[α
 του πτολεμαιου ρϡ υπ[ογεγραφαμεν το αντ^υ?
 επει ουν πριαμενος δι ημων εν τωι γ
 θεοτιμου του ευφρονος θραικος πϡ? (viz. ογδοηκονταουρου)
 επειφ οικιαν και αυλην και τα συνᾳκτα (viz. συνκυρουντα) 5
 οντα εν ευγετιδι πραθεντα προς εγγ^υ ην (for ευεργετιδι and εγγυην ην)
 ενεγυησατο Φιλιππον Πευκαλλου τον
 εγλαβοντα την γινομενην απομοιραν
 τη φιλαδελφου και τοις φιλοπατορσι θεοις
 και βουβαστον
 των περι φιλαδελφειαν το παν εις το βL 10
 του οφειληματος (ΠαLφισ =) εφ ωι
 ταξεται παραχρημα ᾳ^α προς αλ ΠαLφισ=?
 ει]σγεγρ επι την εν κ^α β^β ρ εφ ης εν . ρωναξ (viz. εν κροκοδ. πολει βασιλικης τραπεζης)
 Lδ θωνθ ιβ^α τοτε Πφισ= και το . . η ειμος?
 τη εγκ^κ και ταλλα τα καθηκοντα (τηι εγκυκλιωι εικοστηι?) 15
]η ωνη καθοτι ειθισται

Across the *verso* (at right angles with this text) is the following note, unfortunately out away across the top of the text here given:—

/ηλιοδωρωι της πιπτ
 τοις ιππευσι τας τιμας του παρα σου
 συγκεκριμενους εις
 εν τη διαγραφηι τον τοπων? ημερων
 ηνινι
 αρμαχορωι

What does this mean? Does it refer in any way to the *recto* text?

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These are among the very few papers in this collection which date, not from the 2nd or 3rd Ptolemy, but from Ptolemy V. (Epiphanes). This is plain from the form of the oath (*a*), which evidently commenced, "I swear by King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, gods Philopatores, and by the gods Philopatores, and by the gods Philadelphi"—the gods Euergetæ are either omitted, or put after the Philadelphi in the gap at the end of line 2—"and the gods Soteres, and Sarapis, and Isis, and the other gods and goddesses all, that this hypothec which I have made . . . is a first mortgage, and that there is no other lien whatever against my estate, except the aforesaid mortgage. If my oath be true, may it be well with me; but if false, the reverse." The gaps in the text do not mar the general sense, which is quite clear. In l. 4 *προ[γεγραμμένων]* will not fill the gap adequately. There are some vestiges of letters still visible.

Under it comes the main document (*b*): "Theotimos, son of Euphron the Thracian, of the horsemen not yet enrolled under a cavalry colonel"—I read the first *sigle* as *τηρεων*; the second I cannot explain, unless the former sign is merely a *π*, and following one stands for *αρουρα*, viz. *an eighty-acre man* (cf. (*c*) l. 5, the superscript):—"I declare that I have pledged up to the full payment (of my debt) to Philip, who has obtained the dues for the second year of the vineyards and gardens round Philadelphia, for one talent and 3000 drachmæ, and to the same man for the dues of the vineyards and gardens about Bubastis for 3000 drachmæ—in all two talents—for which I pledge my existing house and courtyard and appurtenances in Euergetis. And I have made the above affidavit according to this form." If I understand this declaration aright—of which I am very doubtful—it means that Theotimos, son of Euphron, hired from Philip, appointed collector of the tax called *αρομοια* (explained below), the collecting for the second year of Philip's appointment at 9000 copper drachmæ for the vineyards, &c., about Philadelphia (a village in the Fayyûm), and at 3000 more for those round Bubastis (a smaller village). In security for this money he pledges his house and premises in Euergetis, and makes an affidavit that they are free from any other charge.

(*c*) ε 62. I found by chance in another coffin a fragment, not deciphered, as most of the above had been, by Mr. Sayce, which I soon saw to be of the same date, and referring to the same transaction. But though it throws light on some of the words in the former, it is itself very enigmatical. We learn, however (ll. 8, 9), what the *αρομοια* was, a tax levied under the name of religion for the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus, and that of the gods Philopatores (parents of the reigning sovran). The transaction seems to be as follows: Theotimos (above-named) being unable to pay his obligation in money to Philip, his house and premises were sold to liquidate his debt, and sold to X. the son of Ptolemy, who bought it on condition of paying forthwith in copper the value of 1 talent 516½ drachmæ current coin, to be lodged in the royal bank at Crocodilopolis, and afterwards a like sum, together with the 5 per cent. tax on sales, and the other burdens attaching to such transfers of property. Such I take to be the general sense of this difficult document, which

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XLVI.

MORTGAGE OF AN ESTATE AS SECURITY BY A TAX FARMER, 200 B.C.

resembles in character the well-known papyri of Zois, expounded long ago by A. Peyron. But there are here many additional difficulties. The endorsement on the back is unfortunately cut off at the top of the fragment, so that we cannot obtain much help from it, even were what remains of it legible. Heliodoros, strange to say, is the name of the chief financial officer concerned in the second papyrus of Zois. But then Harmachoros is a name occurring in the documents of the early years of the 3rd Ptolemy. This mere repetition of the same name in Egyptian records is never a safe guide.

I will add some explanations of the readings I propose in the third text. The sigle in the second line probably stands for *υπομνηματος*; l. 3 we have, as usual, *ρλ* for *εκατονταρουρου*. At the end of l. 3 there are illegible vestiges which neither confirm nor refute my conjecture. We proceed: "Since then buying through us on the 3rd of Epeiph a house and court (of Theotimos, son of Euphron the Thracian, an eighty-acre man, written over the line), and the appurtenances—*τα συνκυροντα* (cf. above, l. 6)—in Euergetis, sold to pay a mortgage made to Philip, who farmed the gods' dues on the vineyards, &c., about Philadelphia and Bubastis, the whole for the second year of the debt (?), on condition that he pays at once in copper (value in current money) 1 talent 516½ drachmæ, registered (*εγγεγραμμενα*) at the royal bank in C. [note the explication of the abbreviations in the margin], over which is Euronax (?): then a like sum, and the other usual burdens, let the sale [be ratified] in the usual way." The sum *ρκε*Ξ 325½ (l. 15) is the twentieth part of the other above, but the two κ's I cannot explain, unless it be by the interpretation in the margin "for the usual yearly 5 per cent.," and then follow the corresponding figures. For the phrase cf. A. Peyron's *Turin Pap.*, Part I., pp. 34, 39; III., p. 26. *τα καθηκοντα* occurs in the Zois papyri for the "usual expenses" of sale. In l. 11 the sum, which occurs too soon, is put in brackets, and the missing words *χαλκου* and *προς αλ[λαγην]* added over it. So I read the latter; whereas in all similar documents we have *οὗ ἀλ[λαγή]*. But there seems no other explanation possible here.

XLVII.

CONTRACT FOR A LOAN.

Ε 68

φιλοπα[τορων] αθ[λο]φορου βερ[ενικης]
 ειρηνης της μητροφανους [κανηφορου αρσινουης
 φιλαδελφου ιαμνειας της[
 δαισιου πεντε και δεκατη[ι
 θεων σωτηρων του αρσινουτου[. . . 5
 ομολογει δονομα[ις] ταωτιου ε[της
 επιγονης απεχειν παρα ιστιαιου
 των μαραιου? τακτομισθου κληρουχου
 β[ου]βαστεως? εισιν?
 εις το του βασιλεως [ονομα] υρ . . . 10
 ιστιαιου εν τωι τ[
 ενεκαλεσεν δονο[μα[ις] ιστιαιω
 ε[.]εως εισιν[
]ασωι των[
 ιστιαιος επ ειρη?[15
 τριακοσιας τριακοντα [δον]ομ[α[ις] ?
 επι η αυτ? . οσ . . . [
 περι ων ανηλωκεν δονομα[ις] ? εσ . ατο[
 και απεχειν τον λογον ιστιαιος παρα δ[ονομα[ις]εως
 των τριακοσιων τριακοντα δραχμων[20
 δονομα[ις]ει μηδε ιστιαιω περι των χρ[η]ματων εξηι
 επελθειν επιοντι [δε
 παρα συγγραφης ηι και μη εμμεινηι τ
 . επεφοδος αυτωι ακυρος εστω και προς
 ο επιπορευ[ων] 25
 διονυσος ?[.] και . η . . . ρητη? . η
 εστω μαρτυρες [στ]ρατωνιδης χα[λκη]δονιος
 φιλοκυδ[ης] ? α[μ]φιπολιτης νικολαο[ς]
 οι τρεις των μαραιου τακτομισθοι[
 απολλωνιος . νιδε . πτολεμαιος μ[30
 απολλωνιος ηρακλεωτης οι τρεις τ[ων
 κρατους της δευτερας ιππαρχιας [
 τουτων συγγραφοφυλαξ απολλ[ωνιος] εστω

Subscription (in a larger hand).

εχρηματισθη ανενεχθεν το [αντι-
 γραφον τουτο εν κροκοδιλων [πολει 35
 λιγ παυνη πεντεκαιδεκα[τηι
 δια το τον συγγραφοφυλακα λει[πεσθαι? ορ λειτουργειν ορ λειπυριαν
 εν αλαβαστρων πολει (the end)

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XLVII.

CONTRACT FOR A LOAN.

The date of this document (13th year of Ptolemy V.) gives us also the name of the *Athlophoros* of Berenike, which is luckily preserved. The whole text is exceedingly washed out, and has given me great trouble. I do not understand how the *Soter gods* come into the fifth line, for the dating always closes with the day of the month. Perhaps "in the temple of the Soter gods," *εν ναωι* being lost at the end of l. 4. The last word of l. 5 is very doubtful, but I am certain of the commencement. Then follows a new name—I suppose Persian—Donomazus, which would not have been deciphered but for its recurrence in several places. A contract is explained between this Donomazus and Histiasos, both apparently belonging to the same regiment, of which the commander's name seems to be *Maraïos* (*Μαρραιος* occurs in the CIG), and both Histiasos and the witnesses seem to be called *τακτομισθοι*. The title occurs in a Leyden Papyrus, and is explained by Leemans as *ο τασσων τους μισθους*. But surely this would be either *ταξιμισθος*, or *μισθοτακτης*. It more probably means *ο επι τακτωι μισθωι στρατευομενος*, though that would seem to apply to any mercenary. Perhaps it means that in some cases pay was assured for life, or for some long fixed period, or that they only received pay, and not a share of booty also. It is a title of no mean kind, for these men are cavalry soldiers, and apparently *cleruchs*.

It seems that Donomazus had borrowed or taken in hand 330 ds. belonging to Histiasos, of which he now gives an account, and by the present document is cleared of all responsibility or pursuit on the part of Histiasos. The witnesses are as usual old soldiers, gathered from all parts of Greece. They appear to be six in number, of which three respectively belong to two regiments. One of the witnesses, Apollonios, is to be the keeper of the contract. Then follows, in a larger hand, the subscript: "This copy was officially registered (*εχρηματισθη*) by Histiasos in Crocodilopolis, year 13, Payni 15, because the keeper of records is ——— ? in Alabastropolis." Unfortunately the verb telling us what had happened to the keeper of the records, or whether there was none in this place, is cut away.

This may also be noted as a case, under the 5th Ptolemy, where silver is clearly assumed as the standard: 300 copper drachmæ would only be worth 2½ silver—under 2s. of our money—for which such a contract would be ridiculous. We must therefore modify Revillout's theory that during the financial and other troubles of the 4th reign, copper was ordained as the standard. If it were so, we should have had in this case either the large figure in copper value, or at least (l. 16) the qualification *αργυριον*, for which (or even *αργ*) there seems to be no room.

XLVIII.

RECEIPTS.

YY

βα]σιλευοντος πτολεμαιου του[
 θεων φιλοπατορων Λιη χο[ιαχ
 ναυκληρος? του του πολυκρατους [
 κατα πτο[λ]εμαιδα ορμου ωστε? [
 λικων π[αρα δω]ριωνος του σιτολογουντ[ος των εν 6
 βουβαστ[ωι] τοπων αφ ου παρε[ιλη]φεν?
 εις τον αγοραστον και το πτη[]ευθυς της[
 γενομενον? του ιζ^ι πυρου καθαρου κεκ[
 επ[. . .]την $\bar{\omega}$ ενακ τα [με]μετρη[μενον
 και αθηνιων? καλως 10

βασιλευοντος πτολεμαιου του πολλ[εμαιου και αρσινοης
 θεων φιλοπατορων Λιη [τ]υβι ιγ [ομολογει πολυ
 κρατης ναυκληρος του ευδημ[ου] και τ[
 παρα δωριωνος του σιτολογου[ντος
 εργαστηριωι [α]πο των γενηματων του ιζ^ι 15
 νου σιτου δι αυτου εις τε τον αγορ[αστον?]

τ]ους σιτολογους πυρου καθαρου[
]το επ εικοστον επι του καταλ[
]εκατον εξηκοντα τετταρας / ρξ[δ

α]λλο 20
 β]ασιλευοντος πτολεμαιου του πτολεμαιου [και αρσινοης
 θεων φιλοπ]ατορων Λιη τυβι ισ^ο ομ[ολογει

π]υρου κδξ?
 εις αλεξαν[δρειαν

These receipts give us the latest date I have found, viz. the 18th year of Ptolemy V. (Epiphanes), son of the gods Philopatores, that is to say, 186 B.C. The handwriting of all this group is worse than the better hands of earlier days, but not worse than those which are careless and scribbled at that time. The above entries appear to be receipts from skippers for carrying corn down the river which they had received from public officers, either for the purpose of transport or of sale. I have explained the word *αγοραστος* in connexion with another text (of. above XX., col. 2). The mutilated account of a *σιτολογος* in the CIG is noted by Lumbroso, *Ec. pol.*, p. 293.

I have taken care to give every scrap (save one which contains the mere word *πολ.* and *φιλοπατ.*) of these passages of later date than the rest. There are many fragments with the earlier dates still lying in my hands unpublished, but they are chiefly stray items from the body of some account.

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XLIX.

CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

(a)

Elegiac Fragment.

κρ]οταλ . . υκα[
]οης δ ισχετε χειρα[
]ρεστιναπου[
]θεων δωρα .[. ου]ρανιδων
 θ]ειου απο κρητηρος αερσην 6
]ων ηγαγεν ειναιετων
]εντος ελουσατο παρθενος ηρ[
 ου]λυμπωι π[. . .]εν υπερχομε[νη
]δεοντος εμων . επιθησετε[
 θ]εων ειπα διδασκομενος 10
]ηνης οισετε φυλλα και αν[θη
]νδου και[]δεχετωι
]ης ποταμος μ[] . . .
]ρο[. ε]υρωνααρ . . s σοι[.]α φερει
]αγ[ε]λαι ποθεν και π[αν?]τος α ποι . 15
]ιων νετος α[. . .]προς ε[χει
]κρηνην ιεροι δησαν ? θαναταων
]φιλης αγνα λοετρα κορης
 συ]ν παιδι βαθυζωνοιο [διω]νης
 νυ]μφην ουκα . . εουσαν ι . ι 20
 ζ]ωστηρος[]τερ καλ[. . .]μναδε
 ν]υμφαων ιeros ηε[
]αμοισι ποσις καλ[
]τωρλων ? . οια[

In attempting to decipher this fragment, found laid across another piece which took off much of the writing by its adhesion, I have had the advantage of the skill and experience both of Professor Blass (of Halle) and of Mr. Bury. Nevertheless, our combined efforts have produced no appreciable result. On many of the readings we differ; indeed, each time I study it, I differ from my own former reading, and none of us can venture to name the author or the subject of the poem. It would point to Callimachus, but that his poems must have been recent at the time when these papers were abandoned as worthless, and so less likely to be disseminated in the Fayyûm. Further conjectures are as yet useless.

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CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

FROM A COLLECTION OF EPIGRAMS (P)

[Autotyped.]

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XLIX.

CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

This is the most interesting of the exiguous remains of literary matter which I have found in the present collection. I need not describe the condition of the papyrus, which the reader can ascertain from the autotype. The ends and openings of two columns are there, that to the right beginning a little higher up (two lines) than the other. But there is a reason for that. I found on examining the conclusions on the left side that the text was in elegiac metre, provided we exclude every fifth line, which will not scan, and in the first case is much shorter than the rest. On the right side, after the first three openings, and after every subsequent four, we have a paragraph line, and then a shorter fifth line commencing with *εἰς*. These facts make it certain that we have before us another example of what surprised the philological world in the first Part (Plate III. (2)), an early anthology or collection of short pieces, possibly from various poets. The present instance is even more curious, for the metre is elegiac, the poems (epigrams?) are, in every case, of four lines. From the condition of the papyrus, both shattered and blurred, my readings are most uncertain, the more so because the topics are unknown to me, and, as every decipherer knows, reading such a text, without a clue to the meaning, is very hazardous work. The poets' names (or are they the people addressed, as the *εἰς* of ll. 25, 30, 35, 40, suggest?) seem to be *(σωσι?)φανης*, *αρισταρχος*, *(πολ?)υδαμας*, *κρατινος*. On the whole I incline to the opinion that we have here a collection of epigrams by one poet, with a heading, giving the subject, over each epigram. The extant epigrams of Callimachus, many of which are in four lines, give us no help. Unfortunately, the editors of the Anthologia, who give us Latin translations and other useless matter, do not provide us with proper indices, and I have not had time to search that vast collection thoroughly. It is therefore possible that some scholar who will undertake this labour may discover the author or authors of this early collection of short poems.

XIX.

CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

(c)

Top of column.

]αρικαμ αριθμεισθα[ι
]ομψης αν λατες αια
]εχουσα μηκυνεις .
]την των εμων οσω
] . μηδ αναμν
]σοι παιδι τεον διω
]ειμ[. .]οτλ[.]αποκτεινε .
]χρ . ριταιαδιαμαος
]σαμειβηις ουθεν ω ταλαινε .
]υθανη . λ . ι εκου μετα 10

τεκ ουκ

(Here a line effaced)

υπηκουσονταλλα
 . υ . εφερβον λεν μεμο
 ρα και λευκαιον εξαλ
 ουδιηιπαιδωσα πολλ 15
 ητι πατρι σοι κλεους θα
 . νεα . εμημια . σου παι
 . . θανουσαν δια γαρ σεδ
 σθα γαρ δητα μακα
 τατον δεξαι τα . . 20

Foot of column.

These two narrow scraps are from the middle of a column, so that we have no beginnings or endings. The style is apparently poetic, and many of the lines might fit into an iambic trimeter; but others will not. So that I am at a loss even to give a title to the fragment.

It is not perfectly certain that the pieces are correctly joined, and the handwriting seems to possess an extraordinary Ω, very like the cursive H.

XLIX.

CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

(d)

CC A fragment from an iambic poem, probably a tragedy, in a beautiful hand.

]ων
]ς θεους
]κωις
]κε εμον
]βροτων
]αι
]κακα
]νεται
]φρονα
] . ω
]αι
]ους ανηρ
] . σαν
]αγαν
]στορων
]ωι кара
]λον δ
]ενωι
]σωι
]ων
] .

επε[
 περ[
 οσου[
 . [
 τωι[
 ουμ . [
 εγ . [
 ου . [
 μ[
 ου[
 δι[
 αβ[
 ου[
 πα[
 σοφ[
 πρ . [
 γω ?[
 . [
 αλλ[
 κε[

DX

Tragic fragment.

σε τον δυσωνυμον
 εμφανη παιδος μορον
 εω συναορον
 . . δε και φησιν κτανειν
 φως ποινας οπως
 ς εικοτως
 ελεγξεν
 εμοι
 ηται
 . .

XLIX.

CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

(e)

Ξ x Recto.

Prose fragment.

(Top of columns.)

I.	II.	III.	IV.
. . . .	ασεβεις . . . . .	. . .]σαιται τα τεκνα μη	ολωιφα
τεν ηγε	τους κλεπτας η τους	αποκτεινεν ινα μη	ταναπ
ατα ειη και	ληιστας ον	συμβηι τουτον τον [τρο	οι νομο[θεται
ν . γυνα	τεσ?εν . . νο[	πο[ν α]υτωι τα ομοφυλα	απαγορ[εουσι
ους οσα	. . . . .	απ[εκ]τονηκεναι ομ . .	.
σους τε	μοι δο ασχ	λεγεται ? αποκτειναν	.
ευματα	λεγομενου γαρ και του	τα [τιν]α των εγχωρι	.
ου . . εχ .	πτο ροπον ομο	ων [τω]ν υπο τους αυ	κτειν
κονα	φυλα ειναι ομ περ και ο	το[υς ν]ομους τεταγμε	φυλον
επαιδευ	ποιητης λεγει διοτι	ν[ων και] μηθεν αδι	κεναι
ωνης ? σι	εκ της [α]υτης κρασε	κο[υντ]ων εαν απο	βανων
βεται καρ	ως γεγοναμεν και	κτ[ειν]ωσιν ασεβειν	τες το
σαιδες τε	νηδ[υος] ουτως ωσπερ	κα[. . .]ς εκεινωσ απο	δεδειχ
ντεχες	τα [ζωια] απαντα τοις	συ[. . .]υλενοντας μη	κησει το
ν κακυ . αι	]απασιν λεγε	αποκ]τειν[ειν] το ομο	ποκτειν
ωσαν . ν		φυλον] . . δ . .	απεδειξ
νων		φυλα . .	. . . .

On the *verso* is a text in columns, of similar form, but later (I think) in hand. Though many words of it are clear, it is too mutilated to afford any sense.

The *recto* text seems to be an argument, after the manner of the Stoics, to show that "He hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth," and that the theory of "killing no murder," if the victim was a barbarian, or even one's own slave or infant (and therefore property), was impious and horrible. The inspired Homer is cited as supporting the modern theory.

XLIX.

CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

(f)

Prose fragments of the adventures of Herakles.

I.

]α[
]μεθ Ηρακλειους σ[
]αντο[

II.

] . . . [
]δεκα[
]δινε[
]αιδεσω[
]ανεβησα[ν

III.

]ωναν[
]ουντος[
]α Αρεω[ς
]στ[

IV.

]νοαν[
συνακολουθο
]οιοι Κηφεω[ς
]Ευρωταν (new col.)
]ον Κηφεως Αλεας δε
ο]μωνυμον τωι
]ρωι παρα των
]καμενου
]ν εις μαχην
]ο Ηρακλ[ης
οι αλ]λοι διεφθα[ρησαν

V.

Ιπ]ποκων και αλλοι πολ[λοι
] . τησαν μετα α . [
]ησαντες τουτων
]αιμονος φυγειν οι
]ην—διωκοντος δε
Ηρα]κλειους και των α
] . δη περι τον Ευρ
]ν Ιπποκων και οι ι
μετα των υπολοι
των] νεντοκε . . . ν

XLIX.

CLASSICAL FRAGMENTS.

(f)

Prose fragments of the adventures of Herakles.

VI.	VII.	VIII.
]ειδον και τ[	]στων—[	ιμεθ ιπ[πων?
]ωντος οι τατ[	]ηστυν[	νο περ
]ναν—το[	]κιδουλ[
]νη[	] . . ναρτ[	IX.
]μωνου γα[	]αι[	. . . .
	]καιτ[	]νοι τε ιππο[
	]ικην[
X.	XI.	XII.
	<i>Top of two columns.</i>	<i>So washed out that only a few traces are visible.</i>
αν	. . . . . απαν	αμ
.	. . . . . βιον	οσα
.	]ον	.
ηω	χεν[]σπυ	κρ .
δας	ονοις	ηις .
. . .	ιν	εσηρ
ορια	.	—
νεπ	.	τουδ
ρατ	.	δηφ .
	.	.
		XIII.
		αμεν εν
		σανος

The proper names make it certain that this was a narrative of the adventures of Herakles in Arcadia, since Kepheus and his sons, Hippocoon, Athena Alea, and a campaign to the Eurotas (Sparta), all belong to that story. (Cf. Apollonios, lib. II., c. 7, § 3).

I.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

The two pieces of papyrus which contain the following text were covered with a thick coat of lime, which was not to be removed without great damage to the surface. Even now there remains upon the writing a white haze, which made it impossible even for the Autotype Company, with all their resources, to produce clear *fac-similes*.

The hand differs widely from that of the *Phædo* (see Part I.) but has the same evidences of great age both in the form and the orthography. The E is drawn very like Ξ ; the \odot is of the lapidary form; Υ and T are often undistinguishable; the Φ has a triangular body. Most strange of all is the Ω , made like the Θ of a far later age, though not closed below; it has the curve prolonged below the two handles of the letter, so $\neg\Omega$. This is, I believe, without parallel. A little downward stroke, set to mark the commencement of each line, is absorbed in the first letter when possible, but is visible in several cases, and puzzled me much at first. There is every reason to refer the writing to the early part of the third century B.C. It may even be older than 300 B.C.

I have only added brief critical notes, indicating the differences from our *textus receptus*. The literature on the question has been cited in the Introduction.

I.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

I.

About six lines lost.

(p. 190, B)

[Autotyped.]

ο]ν ημιν τουτο γε υ
 παρχ[ε]ιν δει το ειδεναι
 τι ποτ εστ[ι]ν αρετ[η] ε]ι
 γαρ που μηδε αρετην
 ειδειμεν το παραπαν 5
 οτι ποτε τυγχanei ον
 τιν αν τροπον τουτου
 ξυμβουλοι γενοιμεθ αν
 οτωιουν οπως αυτ[ο] καλ
 λισ]τα αν κτησαιτο ο[υ 10
 δεν εμοιγε δοκει ω σω
 κ]ρατες—φामεν αρα
 αυτο ω λαχης ειδεναι ο
 τι] εστιν—ουκουn ο γε ισ
 μ]εν καν ειποιμεν δη 15
 που τι εστιν—πως γαρ ου—
 μ]η τοιουν ω αριστε περι
 ολης αρετης ευθεως σκο
 πωμεθα πλεογ γαρ ισως 20
 εργον αλλα μερους τι
 νος περι πρωτον ιδωμεν
 ει ικ[αν]ως εχομεν προς
 τ[ο] ει]δεναι και ημιν ως
 το [ει]κος ραιων η σκεψ[ις
 εσται α . . οι? οντω ποιωμεν 25
 ω σωκρατες οντω γαρ? βουλει

Foot of column.

I.
FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

I.

There is enough papyrus above the first line to show two higher lines ; but by an unfortunate folding down of the sheet they have been completely wiped out through contact with some hostile substance. The end of the paragraph line immediately preceding is still visible above on the right.

Lines 7-10: The repetition of *av* is remarkable. In l. 7 it had been inserted by Bekker, as necessary ; in l. 8 it is added phonetically ; in l. 10 it is placed two words later than in our other texts.

Line 11: *ουδεν* by mistake for *ουδενα*.

Line 13: *αυτο* comes three words earlier than in our texts.

Line 14: *φαμεν μεντοι*, or some such formula, is omitted by oversight.

Line 25: There is *α*, then a gap wide enough for one broad or two narrow letters; then apparently part of an *ο* and an *ι*, but certainly not *αλλα*; nor is there room for *αλλ' ιθι*, which Gomperz suggests as possible, or *αλλα τοι* (Blass).

Line 26: The *ο* is certain; then either gaps or vestiges of six letters, which correspond fairly to what I have printed. The *ως ου* of our texts cannot possibly have stood here.

There is at least an inch of blank margin below this last line.

I.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

II.

According to our texts, twenty-six words lost, viz. sixty-eight letters, four lines (?).

(190, D)

[Autotyped.]

π[ο]λ[οις] εἰς τὴν ? ἀνδρὶ
 ἀν ἡ [γὰρ καὶ μαλὰ δὴ οὕτω ?
 δοκεῖ—τοῦτ[ο] τοῖνυν πρῶτον ?
 ἐπ[ι]χειρήσω[μεν] ὦ λαχῆς
 εἰπεῖν ἀνδ[ρεία] τί ποτ' ἐστίν 5
 ! ! !
 εἰπεῖτα το μετ[ὰ] τοῦτο σκε
 ψομεθα καὶ οὕτω[ι] ἀν τροπῶι
 τοῖς νεανίσκοις [παραγε
 νοῖτο καθ' ὅσον οἶο[ν] τε ἐξ ἐπι
 τηδευμάτων [τε καὶ μα 10
 θημάτων π[αραγενεσθα]ι
 ἀλλὰ πειρῶ [εἰπεῖν] ὁ λέ
 γων τὴν ἀνδ[ρείαν] οὐ μά τον δια ?
 ὦ σῶκράτης [οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰ
 πειν εἰ γὰρ τ[ίς] ἐβέλοι ἐν 15
 τῇ ταξεί μ[ενων] ἀμυνε
 σ[θ]αί τοις πολέμοι[ν]ς καὶ μὴ
 φευγ[ο]ι ἐν ἰσθί οτ[ι] ἀνδρὶ
 ὅς ἀν εἴη καλῶς [μεν] λέγεις
 ὦ λαχῆς ἀλλὰ ἰσ[ως] ἐγὼ αἰ 20
 τ[ί]ος οὐ σαφῶς εἰπ[ων] (το) σέ μὴ ? α 23 } letters ?
 ποκρινασθαι το[(ν)το] ὁ διανοοῦ 24 }
 με[ν]ος ἡρομένη [ἀλλ' ἐτερον
 π[ω]ς τοῦτο λέγ[εις] ὦ σῶκρα
 τες—ἐγὼ φράσω [εἰαν] οἶος τε 25
 γενῶμαι ἀνδρε[ῖος] που
 οὗτος οὐ καὶ συ λέ[γεις] ὅς ἀν
 ἐν τ[ῇ] ταξεί με[νων] μα
 χ[η]τ[α]ι ? τοῖς πολε[μίοις]

Foot of column.

[168]

I.
FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

II.

Lines 1-2: The letters are certain; but in our texts we cannot obtain enough letters for an average line in l. 1. Diels suggests the *την*.

Line 3: Probably *ουν* for *τοιουν* (Blass).

Line 6: I cannot make *επειτα* out of the vestiges, which seem to be *επε=τ²*. *το μετα* seems correct, G.

Line 10: The first two letters are all but gone; only the left top of the *τ* and the last bar of the *η* are visible.

Line 13: *τ . ν*. A slight fold in the papyrus hides the central letter; but there is only room for *ι*. I presume he had before him *την ανδρειαν*, or *τι η δ*. (D. and B., who omit following *ου*). Gomperz suggests *τιν' ανδ. σο. λεγεις*. The rest of the line probably contained some shorter form of negation, twenty-three letters being far above the average.

Line 17: For *τος* cf. Meisterhans ed. 2, p. 5, n. 7 (Diels).

Line 19: *καλως* for the *εν* of our texts.

Lines 21-22: The supplement from our texts makes the lines too long. Diels proposes to omit (in l. 21) *το* (comparing p. 191, c), and read *το* (in l. 22) for *τουτο* (so also B.), referring to Kühner's G. G. ii., § 459, 1 a.

Line 28: The *ζ* is quite plain—an oversight for *ξ*.

Line 29: *φημι*, and then in next col. *γουν. και γαρ εγω* (B.).

I.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

III.

Top of column.

(191, A)

[Autotyped.]

αλ]λα τ[ι] αν ο
 δε ος αν φευ]γων τοις πολε
 μιοις μαχ]ηται αλλα μη μ
 ενων]—πως φευγων
 ωσπερ π]ου και σκυθαι λεγον 5
 ται ουχ ητ]τον φευγον
 τες] η διωκοντες μαχεσ[θ]αι
 και ομηρ]ος ποτε επαινων
 τους του] αινεα? ιππους
 κρ]αιπνα μαλ ενθα και εν 10
 θα] εφη αυτους επιστασθαι
 διωκε]ιν ηδε φ[εβ]εσθαι και
 αυτον τ]ον αινειαν κα
 τα το]υτο ενεκω[μιασε]ν
 κατ]α την του φοβ[ου επι 15
 στη]μην και ειπ[εν] αυ
 του] ειναι μηστωρα φοβοιο
 κ]αι καλως γε ω σωκρα
 τ]ες περι αρματων γαρ
 ε]λεγε και συ του των 20
 σ]κυθων ιππεων περι
 λεγε]ις το μεγ γαρ ιππι
 κον] ουτω μαχεται το δ[ε
 οπλ]ιτικον ως εγω λεγω
 πλη]γ γε ισως ω λαχης των 25
 λακε]δαιμονιων τουτους
 γαρ φ]ασιν και πλατει
 ασι επ]ειδη προς τ[οι]ς γερ
 ροφορ]οις εγεν[ο]ντ[ο . . .
 ου θελ]ει[ν προς] αυ[τους]? 30

Two more lines lost.

[170]

I.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

III.

Columns III., IV., V. have a broad blank margin over them.

Line 1 : There is no room between this and the line at the bottom of II. for the words in our received texts.

Line 3 : *μαχηται* comes two words later than in our texts.

Line 9 : The form seems to be *αινεα*, but I am not certain ; there is hardly room for *ει*.

Line 13 : Blass suggests *αυρον δε τ.*

Line 20 : *του* for our *το* is certain ; probably a mistake.

Lines 22-24 : Two useless adscripts, one of which Badham had already detected, do not appear here, viz. *το εκεινων* and *το γε των Ελληνων*.

Line 25 : *πληγ γε* by assimilation, and *των* for our *το*.

Line 27 : *και Πλατ.* for *εν Πλατ.* The form *Πλατειασι*, in Attic, without the *ι* subscript, is suggested by Diels, who compares the doubtful text in *Menezenos*, p. 245 a.

Lines 30-31 : I cannot make the vestiges fit our texts. D. and B. suggest *ου θελειν προς αυτους*. The *ει* is very doubtful, the *αν* apparently clear. A single stroke of the next following line is still visible.

L.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

IV.

(191, c)

[Autotyped.]

αι ταξεις τ[ων πε]ρσω[ν α
 ναστρεφομενους ως
 περ ιππες μαχεσθαι και
 ουτω νικησ[αι] τ . . ν ε ?
 κει μαχην—αληθη λε 5
 γεις—τουτο τοινυν ο
 αρτι ελεγον [οτ]ι εγω αιτι
 ος μη καλως σε αποκρι
 νασθαι οτι ου καλως σε η
 ρομην βουλομενος γαρ 10
 σου πυθεσθαι μη μονον
 τος εν τωι οπλιτικωι αν
 δρειους αλλα κα[ι το]υς εν
 τωι ιππικωι εν τσι συμ ?
 παντι τωι πολεμικωι 15
 ειδεν και μη μονον
 τους ε . ν τωι πολεμωι ?
 αλλαι και του[ς] εν τοις
 προς την θαλ[ατ]ταν κιν
 δυνεουσι ανδρειους ον 20
 τας και οσοι τε προς νο (*the π very wide*)
 σους και οσοι προς πενιας
 και προς τα πολιτικα αν
 δρειοι εισιν και ετι αυ
 μη μονον οσοι προ λυπας 25
 η φοβους ανδρειοι εισιν αλ
 λα και προς επιθυμιας η
 ηδονας δεινοι μαχ[ε
 σθαι και μενοντες η αν
 αστρε[φο]ντες εισ[ι γ]α[ρ που 30
 τινες ω λαχ[ης και εν τοις
 τοιο[υτοις α]ν[δρειοι—

[172]

I..

FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

IV.

Line 1: Here again we have too much in our texts for the missing interval, unless we suppose three lines to be lost at the bottom of III., which is possible, though the corresponding column is thirty-two lines.

Line 3: *ιππεις* for *ιππειας*, or *ιππεις*. Diels compares Meisterhans, p. 110, n. 8.

Line 4: There is too much room for *την*; the vestiges look like *τερον*.

Lines 6-7: *ο αρτι*, improving Ast's emendation, but introducing a long and characteristic anacoluthon.

Line 9: *σε* introduced.

Line 12: *τος* for *τους*, as often in inscriptions.

Line 14: I cannot read *τωι* here, though the *τ* and *ι* are plain.

Line 16: *ειδεν* is a mere mistake of the scribe.

Line 17: The apparent gap between the *ε* and *ν* may be the mere avoidance of a flaw in the papyrus.

Lines 18-20: *αλλα(ι)* a mere blunder. The construction is, "those who are manly among the people who run risks at sea."

Line 29: *και* introduced.

L.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

V.

(191, E)

[Autotyped.]

σφοδρα γε ω σωκρατ[ες ουκ
 ου]ν ανδρειαι μεν [παν
 τε]ς ουτοι ανδρειοι ε[πει ?
 οι] μεν εν ηδοναις [οι δε
 εν] λυπαις οι δε εν ε[πιθυ 5
 μι]αις οι δε εμ φοβοις τ[ην
 ανδρειαν κεκτην[ται οι
 δε γε οιμαι δειλιαν ε[ν τοις
 αυτοις τουτοις—πα]ν γε ?
 τι ποτε ουν εκατερ[ον του 10
 των τουτο πυνθαν[ομαι
 παλιν ουν πειρω ει[πειν
 την ανδρειαν πρω]τον
 τι ουν εμ πασιν το[υτοις
 ταυτον εστιν η ου[πω κα 15
 ταμανθανεις ο λεγ[ω—
 ου πανυ τι—αλλ ωδε [λεγω
 ωσπερ αν ει ταχος η[ρω
 των τι ποτε εστιν ο [εν
 τωι τρεχε τυγχαν[ει ον 20
 ημιν και εν τωι κ[ιθα
 ριζειν και εν τωι λε[γειν και
 εν τε τωι μανθανε[ιν και
 εν αλλοις πολ[λοις] και σχε[δον ?
 τι αυτο κε]κτη[με]θα ου 25
 κ[α]ι περι [α]ξιον λεγειν η
 ε[ν] ταις τωγ χε[ιρων πρα
 ξ[εσιν η σκε]λων [η νοημα
 τ[ος τε] α[μα και] φω
 νη]ς η ουχ ουτω [και συ λεγ 30
 εις—πανυ γε [ει τοι
 νυν τι]ς με ερωιτ[ο

[174]

L.

FRAGMENTS FROM THE LACHES OF PLATO.

V.

Line 1 : γε inserted.

Line 2 *sq.* : Varies from our texts, *sc.* "All these are manful in manliness; some," &c. There is consequently an asyndeton, avoided in our texts by αλλα, that is to say, if we read εσει. I don't think there is room for ε]σιν αλλοι[in the two gaps, of which the second (initial) cannot hold more than three letters. The first (final) is more doubtful. Hence I suggest επει, or επειδη, if there be room. With the present reading κεκτημενοι would be what we expect; but the ν of κεκτηνται is plain.

Lines 10, 12 : ουν where our texts have ον.

Line 11 : πυνθανομαι, more lively than the usual imperfect.

Line 20 : τρεχε for τρεχειν, reminding us both of the Coptic and the modern Greek infinitive, is a curious blunder.

Line 24 : There seems hardly room for σχεδον at the end of the line, but the sense requires it.

Line 29 : The τ is certain; the α *might* be the lobe of a φ, which he writes as a flat triangle; the ω is certain; not so the preceding letter, of which two ends appear. These remains will not fit into our texts. I have printed Diels' ingenious suggestions.

Line 31 : This line seems too short without some unknown supplement.

INDICES

TO

SUBJECTS, PROPER NAMES, AND GREEK WORDS.

I.

INDEX TO SUBJECTS.

[NOTE.—The numerals in square brackets refer to the pages of the text; the unenclosed numbers to the pages of the Introduction; the Roman numerals to the rubricated text-heads; and the letters or figures in parentheses to some sub-division or line of those texts.]

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(1 AND 2.)	
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(1 AND 2.)

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LACHES OF PLATO (COLUMN 5),	[174]

(2)

[illegible]

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[The manuscript page contains dense handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a historical document or letter.]

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222

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a historical document or manuscript, written on aged, stained paper. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect than the main body of text. The paper shows significant wear, including tears and discoloration.

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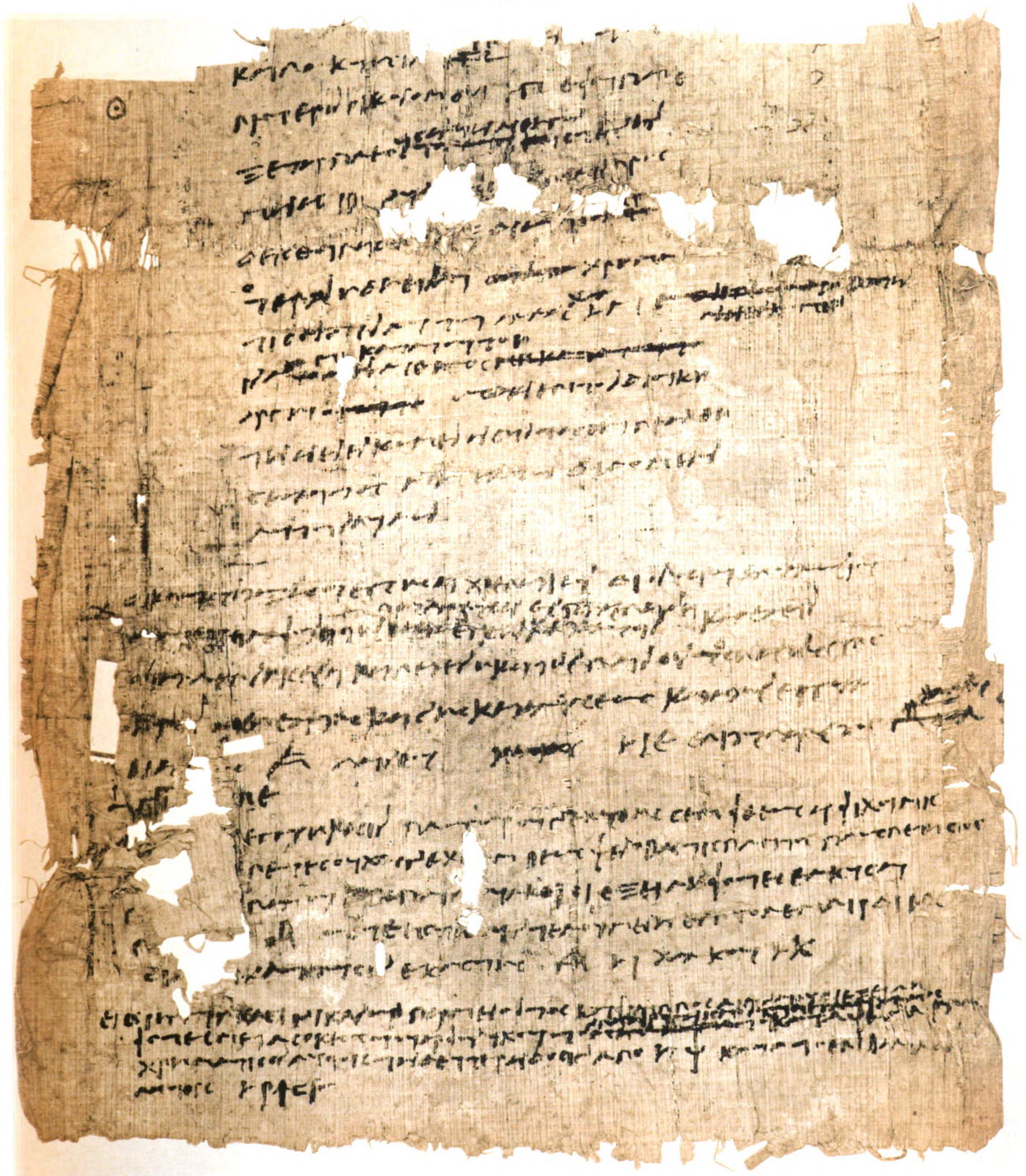
Fragment (1) of a papyrus scroll, showing several lines of hieroglyphic text. The fragment is heavily damaged, with large holes and missing sections. The text is written in a cursive style, typical of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. The fragment is labeled (1) in the top left corner.

Fragment (2) of a papyrus scroll, showing several lines of hieroglyphic text. The fragment is heavily damaged, with large holes and missing sections. The text is written in a cursive style, typical of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. The fragment is labeled (2) in the top right corner.

VII.

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI. Pt. 2.

XIV. (1 a, b, c, d).



VIII.

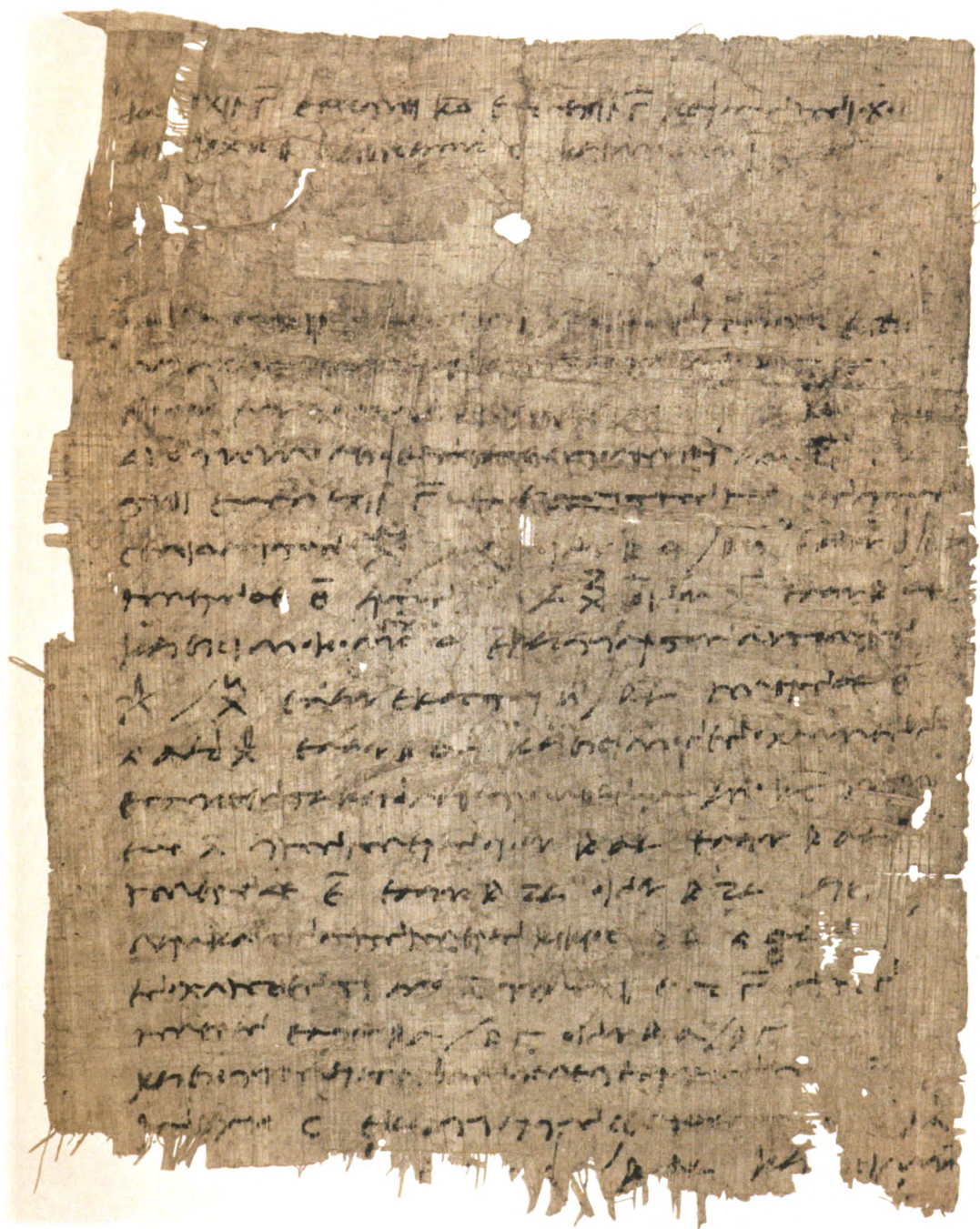
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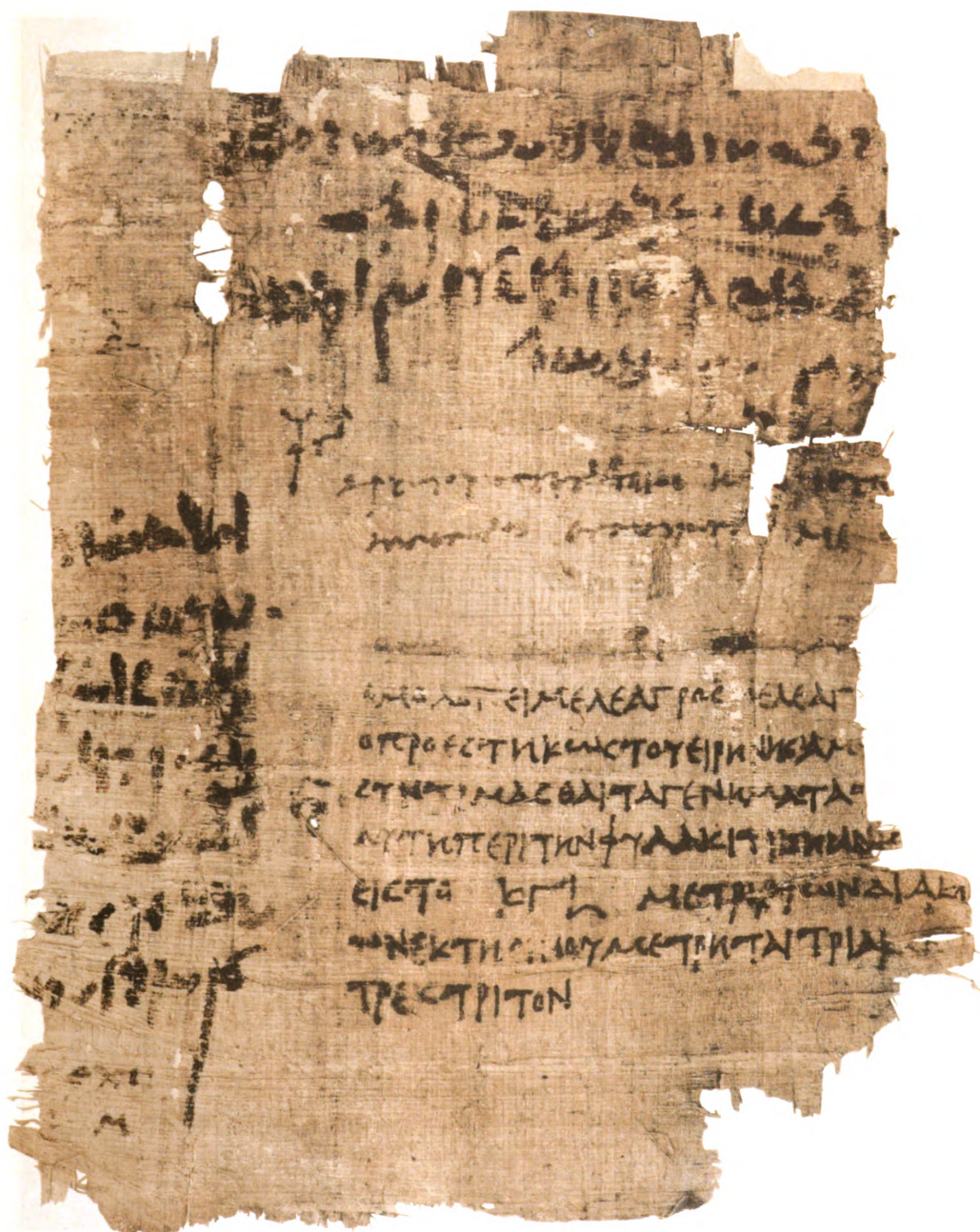
COLUMN III.



IX.

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI. Pt. 2.



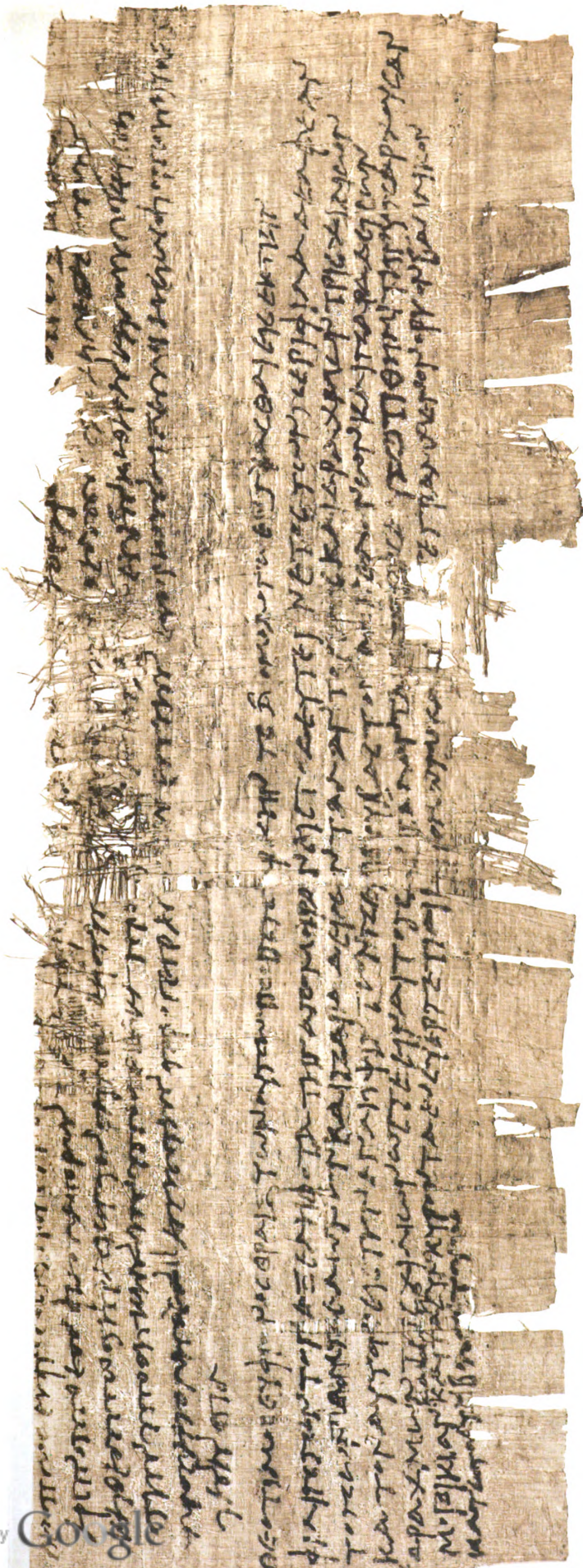


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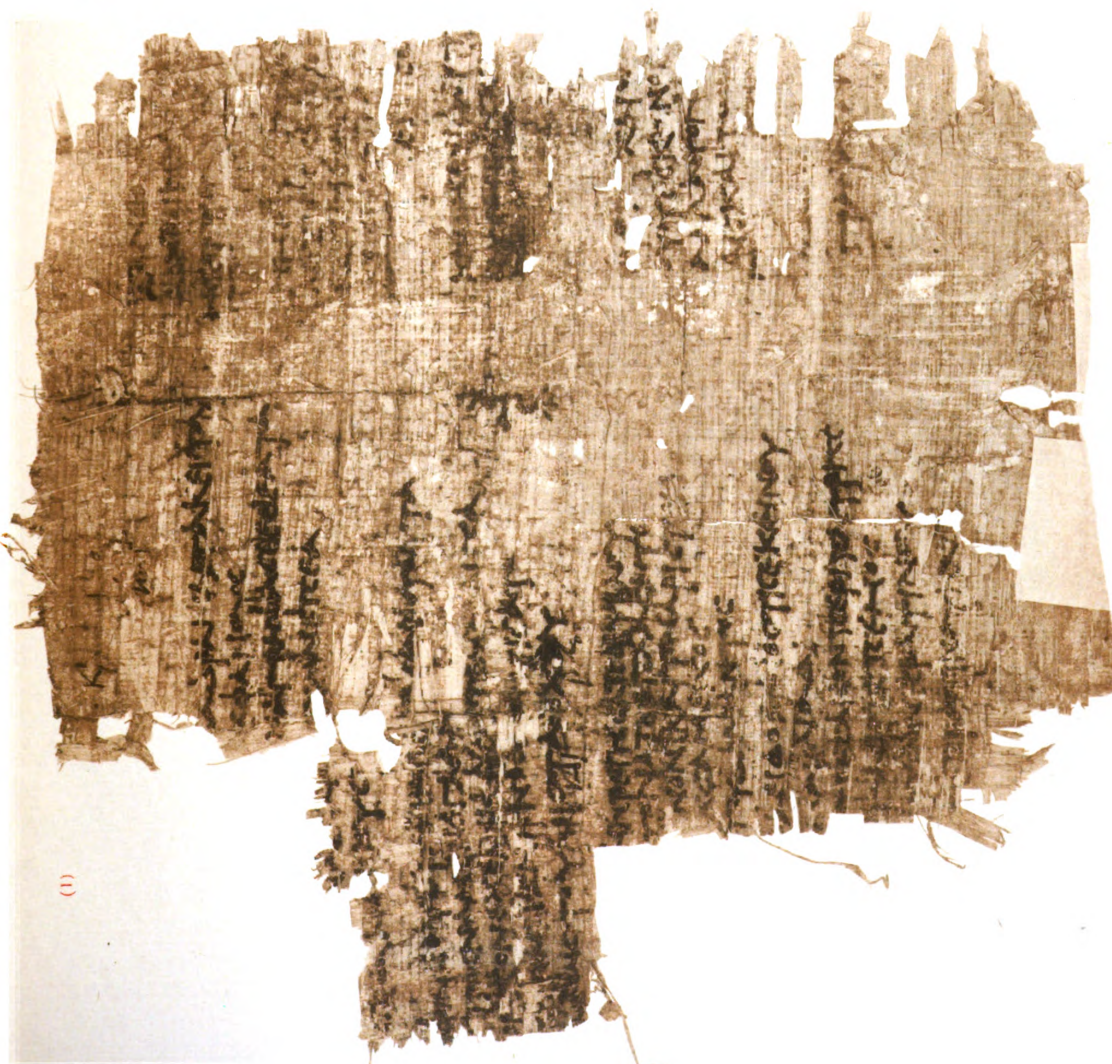
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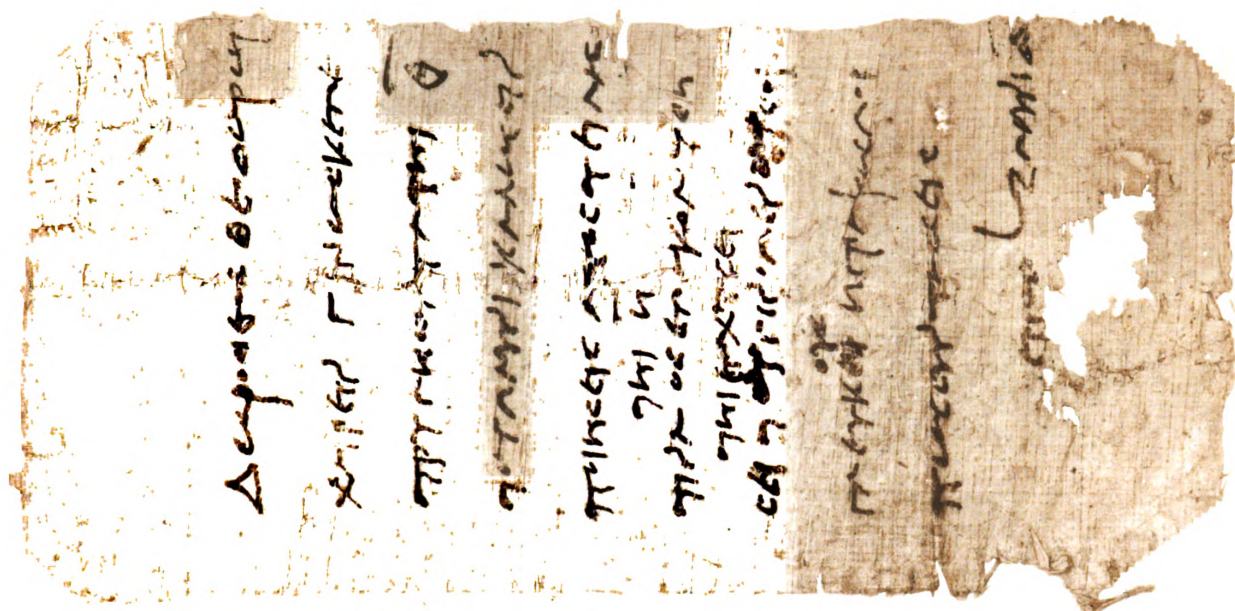
Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. The text is written in a cursive style on a piece of aged, brownish paper. The fragment is irregularly shaped with some missing sections on the left and bottom edges.

(2)

Fragment of a papyrus scroll with several lines of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs. The text is written in a cursive style on a piece of aged, brownish paper. The fragment is irregularly shaped with some missing sections on the right and bottom edges.



XLIX. (b).



XVII.

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI. Pt. 2.

THE LACHES OF PLATO.

COLUMN I.

COLUMN II.



XVIII.

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI. Pt. 2.

THE LACHES OF PLATO.

COLUMN III.

COLUMN IV.

COLUMN V.





OCTOBER, 1893.]

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A. 69969 (a)



Royal Irish Academy.

"CUNNINGHAM MEMOIRS."—No. IX.

ON THE

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI

WITH

TRANSCRIPTIONS, COMMENTARIES, AND INDEX.

Part II.

By The REV. J. P. MAHAFFY, D.D., F.T.C.D.

With Eighteen Autotypes.



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DECEMBER, 1894.]



Royal Irish Academy.

"CUNNINGHAM MEMOIRS."

No. IX.—APPENDIX.

ON THE

FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI.

BY

REV. JOHN P. MAHAFFY, D.D., F.T.C.D.

With Three Autotypes.



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Appendix.

BY
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AUTOTYPES I. to III.



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NO. IX.—APPENDIX.

ON THE FLINDERS PETRIE PAPYRI—APPENDIX.

By REV. JOHN P. MAHAFFY, D.D.

(With Autotypes I., II., and III.)

[Read June 25, 1894.]

By the liberality of the Academy I am permitted to add three Autotypes to my second Memoir (No. IX. of the CUNNINGHAM MEMOIRS), containing the fragments of the narrative relating to the third Syrian War, and I have taken the opportunity of appending some corrections, made either from Mr. Wyse's valuable suggestions, or by Mr. Grenfell, by means of the great new text—the Monopoly or Revenue Papyrus—which Mr. Petrie has brought from Egypt (1894),* or from mine own further studies. The article of A. Wilhelm in the *Vienna Archaeological Journal* (1894, pp. 907 sq.) also contains some good corrections. It may be well to deal first with the matter of the three new Autotypes, which give the text numbered XLV. in CUNNINGHAM MEMOIRS, IX., pp. [145]—[149]. It has excited great interest in Germany, where philological researches are prosecuted, and there are already three divergent theories as to the details of the campaign. Concerning the general drift of it, as determined by me, there is no dispute.

The unfortunate Hellenistic habit of repeating the same place-names in adjoining countries is the first source of difficulty. Accordingly, as there was a Seleukeia, an Antiocheia (ἐνὶ Κράγῳ), even a Poseidion, on the coast of Cilicia, Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, referring me to the sketch maps in Heberdey and Wilhelm's Report on the Coast of Cilicia (*Wien. Akad. Sitzber.* for 1891, pp. 81 sqq.),

* This text will, I hope, be published by Mr. Grenfell and myself in the course of 1895.

tells me (in a letter) that he believes the whole narrative refers merely to operations of the Egyptian forces on this spot. In his favour is the fact that there is no specification of two Seleukeias, and that that in Cilicia can hardly have been passed over. Against him is the fact, that in the narrative the fort Poseidion is not between Seleukeia and Antioch; on this coast it is so. But every argument from so acute and learned a scholar deserves the most serious attention. Then no less an authority, Ulrich Köhler, has published an essay ("Ueber eine neue Quelle zur Gesch. des dritten syrischen Krieges," *Berlin Akad. Sitzber.*, 1894), in which he has made some good corrections in my commentary, and, while accepting in the main my conclusions, shows that, as the fort Poseidion is not on the way from Cilicia to Seleukeia on the Orontes, but somewhat to the south, there must be a break in the narrative at Col. II. 16, and that the rest describes an operation *undertaken from Cyprus*, where the main station of the Egyptian fleet was. The fleet only paused at Poseidion, in order to enter Seleukeia in the morning light, in case of any difficulty. I will not discuss his argument, that Laodike was the sister of her husband, which, though asserted in an inscription, appears to me only a formula, in imitation of the Egyptian formula for queens. Köhler also regards the whole document, not as a private letter, or unofficial document, but as a copy of the formal despatch of the admiral of the fleet. Still more recently Ulrich Wilcken, in a note to his article in *Hermes* (vol. 29, p. 450), disputes the accuracy of this view, and thinks that the occupation of Seleukeia must have taken place *after* the king, with his land forces, had taken Antioch. The operations in Cilicia being completed, the fleet sends a division (not its whole strength) merely to occupy and secure the sea-port, which was already Egyptian. It still seems to me that the reception described is far too enthusiastic for that of a mere division, which had been anticipated by the king and his main army. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*

I add the following corrections to my readings of the text :—

I. 6. *συνεθοντο* (of course a mistake). 13. Perhaps *πεμψας*. 14. *εναι [π]αντας*. 23. *κ[αι πα]ρα*.

II. 5. The $\hat{A}\phi$, quite clear when first found, has since broken away; only the flourish over the A is still visible. π in the same line is very doubtful. 8. *των*? at the end. 14. *υπερβο[υ]λην*, the *υ* erased. 15. *ενχωριων*. 17. *επιτα*, *εναμεθα* corrected from something else. 22. *αραχθεντες παραγενομεθα*.

III. 5. *πορ[ι]ωι*, the *ι* is concealed in a fold, or wrinkle, of the papyrus. 9. *εσ εν αις*. 24. *εδεξιου[ντο η]*.

I now turn to smaller supplements and corrections on the other texts in the second Memoir.

INTRODUCTION TO MEMOIR II.

14. κληρουχοι, now found in the Revenue Papyrus, col. 36.

28. l. 30, add *âv* after *αυωλιων*.

29. I since saw (1893) the actual process of protecting the banks with tamarisk branches going on in Nubia.

The text partially given on p. 29 now stands as follows :—

Λ''

ηρακλειδει οικονομωι παρ απολλωνιου
του εξειληφτος το ϕ εθων και ρ
της θεμιστου μεριδος εις το κεL
και τ[]υ επεδωκα σοι
υπομνημα κατα φιλωνος του
μετεχοντος μοι την μεριδα οτι
ανευ ημων και των μετ αριστοκριτους
λογευντων [προ]ξενει τους υποτελεις
του φυλακ[τι]κου εις το ιδιον και
εξ εαυτου τας συνχωρησεις ποιειται
καταβλαπτων την ωνην ετι δε και

The few remaining words yield no sense. It is a complaint of one of the partners in a company which had undertaken the farming of this particular tax, the *φυλακιτικον εθων και ρ* . which, though clearly written, I cannot explain. All this joint-stock tax-farming was under strict government supervision, as appears from the Monopoly Papyrus, in which *καταβλαπτων την ωνην* is a constant phrase.

31. Cf. Serambos of Aegina, Paus., vi. 10, § 9. In last line Themistos.

37. (b) 1, should be χ ια[—]. (d) 8, /ψικι should be two lines lower.

38. *sub fin.* I since saw (1894) a government official living with the rude fishermen on the banks of the lake in the Fayyûm, in order to levy the tax of 50 per cent. of the fish they caught.

39. l. 28, ρ = *περιεστι*, not *λοιπον*, as my reviewer in the *Athenæum* suggests.

MEMOIR II.

- [5]. (b) 6, συνετελεσ[το].
- [6]. 3, ο[υ δ]; 4, τ[οις],¹ Wyse.
- [7]. 1. 8, *αργον* is *resting-time*, and *το κατεργον* apparently piece-work. We have *το αργον του χρονου* in the Monopoly Papyrus.
- [13]. 1. 3, περιλοιπον, Wilhelm.
- [14]. On *αωιλια*: cf. also Part I., pl. xxiii. 9.
- [21]. 6, παρεν[ρесеи μηδε]μιαι. 7, επισκεψηται [αι]τησωνται, Wilhelm. 9, ωι-
[τινι]ουν.
- [23]. 5, 6, καλως αν ουν—συνταξοντας ινα τι π.
- [25]. 16, *το εκτον*, Wyse, which seems to me not long enough for the gap.
- [27]. 6, “I have paid as an instalment of interest,” Wyse.
- [33]. (1), 6, ο υπο—χρηματισθη, and nothing lost.
- [34]. (3), 6, απεγδοσις = locatio, Wyse.
- [36]. From the fact that in the list of nomes given in the Monopoly Papyrus under the date LKZ of this reign, the Arsinoite nome is still called *η λιμνη*, I infer that we should understand this to be the meaning of (5), l. 9 (possibly *μονωι παντων*), e.g. “His is the only land in the province not watered.”
- [37]. 13, αλλ’ ως αν. φα[ινηται, Wilhelm.
- [40]. In Mr. Petrie’s *Naukratis*, II., p. 65, No. 781, occurs the corresponding form *Θευτιμος*.
- [45]. 3, ου]μην ουθεν εμοι εσται μειζον, Wilamowitz. 9, [κατα τη]ν, Wilamowitz. 10, α[λλα], Wilamowitz and Wyse.
- [48]. 3, πεπονεκεναι is right, and means has *suffered* from age, or decayed, Wilhelm.
- [49]. (1 c), 1, δι]εγγυηκασιν, Wyse. 4, πλινθου]μ.⁸ (1 d), ει δι]εγγ, Wyse. 2, *το μεγα χωμα* are the words erased.
- [54]. 4, εις [ερεχ]υρα; and 13, ον μ[ην αλλ]α, Wilhelm.
- [55]. Here I can hardly separate Mr. Wyse’s suggestions from the corrections which I made owing to them, viz.—9, 10, καταμαρτυρουντων|εμ]φανισαι. 13, ανακαλεσα[σθαι. 16, ιν]ανταν are his. 18, 19, μαρ]τυρας ους αυτη η Λαμισκ[η φησιν εωρακε]ναι. 27, 28, τουτων | γ]αρ γεν.
- [58]. 13, καταφρονησας, Wyse. 14, δια το υποτε[θει]κεναι.

- [59]. (2 b), 2, συνειχεν, Wyse.
 [62]. 9, φαινεται (γραφαι) εντονως. γραφαι erased.
 [63]. 4, εις μεμφιν.
 [64]. 13, ωστε τοις, Wyse. 15, παρεστηκας αυτ. αξιω σε, Wyse.
 [66]. (a) 13, συνπεφωνημενη; and (c) 6, ομογνωμονουντες, Wyse.
 [69]. (2), 3, συ[νεστ]ησας, Wilhelm [?].
 [70]. (4) 3, Φιλεας Κομωνι, separate names, Wyse and others.
 [71]. 5, Μνησιστρατης. The formula of the date is also found in the Monopoly Papyrus, col. 24, and was still used in Ptol. Phil. 27th year—an important fact: cf. Mr. Grenfell's note on next page.
 [85]. We now know from the Monopoly Papyrus that both XXVII. (3) and all XXVIII. are *enumerations of retail traders*, to whom the farmers of potash or oil taxes delivered the quantity required by them, according to this formal list: cf. Monopoly Papyrus, col. 47.
 [87] sq. της Θ με is της Πολεμωνος μεριδος, Wyse, viz. col. III. 14, κερκεσου-
 χων πεμσας το παρα φ. ιερας νησου της πολεμωνος με(ριδος).
 Col. V. I have now completed from a new scrap as follows. I give the endings only.

Col. V.	θεογ	ρκς	Col. VI. opens with
	Π	πδ	ις, and then there is
		πδ	Αρ[σιωνος] 6
		No figure.	δ[ικαιου νησου] 8
		No figure. 5	and a few more such
	σοχωτης	πδ	openings.
	Ο . . με	† τνς—ς	
ιε απ.	παωτις	ιε ?	
εις λινωνιαν		κη	
		πδ 10	
		πδ	
		πδ	
		No figure.	
		No figure.	
		πδ 15	
	βουκ κ μαυρης μ[αρ]μαιος	μθ	
		κα	
	τεωτος	κα	

[99]. (a) 12, Δημητρια, Wyse. 13, καηνσιος, Wyse. (b) 6, 7, αλκεταν π. ηλ. τον γεωργον.

[107]. 10, αυτοι προ[αιρωνται].

[108]. 5, δερμα|των, Wyse. 8, εργα[ζεσθαι, Wyse.

[110]. 12, της κρ[οτωνα]φορου, Wyse. 13, μονο|γραφον, Wyse.

εως ψυγμου occurs on a stele now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, as the measurement, or limit, of a piece of ground; and Strabo, xvi. 4, § 15, speaks of a place on the Trogodyte coast as ψυγμου λιμην. Wilhelm compares *Berl. Pap. Urk.* 1, 10.

[111]. (2 b). This text has been much enlightened by further study, viz.—

2, γεωργων της π. Σ. κροτωναφορου γης, Wyse.

3, φαωφι $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$ ευρομεν.

4, κατανεμοντα (as if κτηνη were the antecedent). περισταυ[ρ]ο[υ]ν-

5, των δε ημων ωστε τ. φ. π. Καριων τις.

7, εχομεν | δε και (specimens?) κροτωνος ενδει-

8, ξαι σοι? αξιουμεν &c.

[137]. 5, ταμειον. Rev. in *Athenæum*.

[141]. εκτης και δεκατης are two separate taxes.

Mr. Grenfell (of Queen's College, Oxford) has since given me the following valuable corrections, made from the originals, and based upon his special knowledge of the great new Revenue Papyrus of Ptolemy II., which I have hitherto called the Monopoly Papyrus:—

P. [68]. 8, α[μπελων]α.

12, read παρευρεσει [μηδεμια].

[71]. Another strip of papyrus was originally joined on to the right-hand side, the loss of which makes the apparent margin.

3, Πελο[πιδο]ν [του] Εξα' [. . . .

4, και θεας Α[ρ]σ[ινοης] κανη-. [I prefer θεων αδ]ε[λφων] κανη-, M.]

- [83]. 2, *υπαρχ[οντα μοι.*
 3, *εις το κγL περι τ[ο] π[. . .*
 5, *δεκαδυο ων η ε[κτη.*
 6, *και των [. . . και.*
 7, *στεφανων [. εκ?*
 8, *εκτ[η.*
 9, *εαν δ επι [πλειω.*
 10, *προσανοισω μ[ετα χειρο-.*
 11, after βασιλικου dele [.
 14, *εις το κγ[L περι το.*
 15, [. *εποι]κιον της [Ηρακλει-.*
 16, *[δου μεριδος κ.τ.λ.]*
- [99]. (a) 4, *Αρψ[ε]νησιαιου.*
 5, omit “ορμου or.”
 7, *μισθοφορ.*
 17, *σν = $\frac{3}{4}$ obol [as I had intended].*
- [104]. 5, read *εκτη.*
 8, read ζ = 6000.
 9, read *ων εκ[τ]η 2 γ' ιβ' (κεραμον.*
- [106]. (e) 1, $\phi^v \eta$.
 2, *Αρνωτος ο τενουβιος.*
 5, *τ[α συγκυρουντα.*
- [107]. 1, *και την εκτη[ν.* [I think this *διδομενη γη* is probably the *εν δωρεαι* of the Monopoly Papyrus, M.]
 3, *[νης και τ]ης αλλης.*
- [108]. 9, read *κωιδι^{erasure} a.* The scribe wrote something else, rubbed it out, and added *a.* It is not a lacuna, as printed. *τιλλοντες [ημεις?] τα [μεν κωι.*
 10, *[δερ]ματα.*
 12, *εν τ[οις.]*

[108]. 15, παρεμπεδησας, not εισ.

16, a fracture, but *nothing* is lost, the two pieces fit exactly.

18, τη β του επειφ.

21, 22, read κα[τα]τριβων. χιτωνες, mistake for χιτωνας. These things are not counted in the text at the end, which refers only to what Dionysius *carried away* (25), and is probably quite correct.

800

560

100

300

720

100

2580

+ the now illegible sum in line 29 = 2600.

26, ω]ς . . . εκαστης η [τξ. The contract in question was a "prêt de blé."

35, εις Φιλι[ππον].

37, αποδουναι μ[οι].

40, insert ευτυχει.

[122]. 6, read υμιν γι[νε]σθω. The phrase is found in the (Monopoly) Revenue Papyrus. So also Wilhelm, independently.

[125]. 1, Ηρακλειτωι.

14, κληρους.

23, read τad.

[127]. 2, read λογος προσαγω]γιδων. The phrase occurs in one of the unpublished fragments. [But what does it mean? M.]

[135]. 6, τοις [ιδιοι]ς πολιταις; and

24, τι[ς η παρ υ]μιν η τιμη, Wilhelm.

[140]. 4, πετε[σουχος]. Cf. line 56.

6, του απολλωνιον.

35, απονχισ.

[141]. 57, 58, ο *αυτος*.

60, *απολλ*ωνιαδος.

The tax mentioned on this page is probably the *απομοιρα*, which might be a sixth or a tenth [?]. See line 45 and the Revenue Papyrus.

[150]. (a) 2, read *φιλ*αδελφο[υς και θε]ους ευε[εργετας].

5, μεμ μοι.

(b) 1, read π*, *i.e.* 80 *arouræ*. The scribe first wrote the sign for *πυρου* *αρταβαι*, and then rubbed it out, and wrote π over it [?].

5, read *ταλαντα* [β].

6, omit [υπερ].

7, *συνβολον*.

[151]. 3, read *υπ*[ο]κειται σοι το *αν*[τιγραφον].

4, γλ.

5, *ευφρωνος* [?]. Separate *συνκ*τα.

10, read *τοπων* for *το παν*.

13, *δ*ιαγεγρ(απται).

14, το τε και το *γινομενον*.

15, *τωι* *εγκ*.

Verso 1, *πιπτουσης* [. . .

2, *παρα θεοτ*[. . .

3, *υποκειμενοις*.

5, *Ζηνωνι*.

The explanation of these three papyri is as follows:—

Theotimus, son of Euphron, is surety for Philip, a farmer of the tax called *απομοιρα*. In XLVI. (b) Theotimus acknowledges his liability with a *βασιλικος ορκος* (XLVI. (a)). Philip for some reason being unable to pay up the requisite amount, Theotimus' property was seized to make up the deficit, and sold by the writer of XLVI. (c) (see line 3, *πριαμενος δι ημων*), probably the *antigrapheus*: cf. papyrus of Lois. It was bought by X, the son of Ptolemy (XLVI. (c) 2),

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[2]

on the condition that he paid the debt owing from Theotimus to the Treasury (lines 11, 12).

XLVI. (c) is a copy of a note from the antigrapheus to Python, who was probably oekonomus or dicebetes, enclosing a copy of a memorandum from X, the son of Ptolemy, and informing Python that the money had been paid into the royal bank. The construction of lines 4 to 16 appears to be as follows:—4, *επει πριαμενος* has no verb. 11, *του οφειληματος* depends on *εγγυην*, or is absolute. 13, Here the main sentence begins—"Since X, the son of Ptolemy, has bought, there have been paid into the royal bank on the 12th Thoth of the 4th year, both the one talent 516½ drachmæ, and the tax of ¼ . . . let the sale be ratified in the usual way."

By way of colophon, I add an interesting fact concerning the usual opening formula of Roman letters, S. V. B. E. E. Q. V. Cobet thought this so essentially Roman, that he sought to discredit the genuineness of Greek letters cited by Josephus and others which contain the corresponding *ει ερωσαι ευ αν εχοι ερωμεθα δε και ημεις*. He thought that they were forged by writers familiar with Roman usage. It now appears, from the letters of Polykrates to his father ("Petrie Papyri," II., p. [27]), that it was an ordinary Greek formula before the middle of the 3rd century B.C., and therefore clearly borrowed by the Romans from the Greeks. The fuller form of the Greek, as well as the date, makes this inference beyond dispute.

[illegible]

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